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ABSTRACT

Scholars and educators presented manuscripts on student unrest at two conferences sponsored by the ASCD Council of Secondary Education. The following subjects were considered: (1) the relationship between current and past student unrest topics, causes, and methods; (2) the needs, motives, and aspirations of youth in our technological society; (3) the unique characteristics of two groups of disenchanted youth -- those unhappy with second-class citizenship, and those dissatisfied with society's overemphasis on materialism and pragmatism; (4) some promising short-and long-range program proposals for making education relevant for youth; and (5) some promising strategies of conflict intervention and resolution. This booklet embodies nine manuscripts that evolved from the proceedings of the two conferences. (Author/LLR)

STUDENT UNREST: THREAT OR PROMISE?

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Prepared by the ASCD
Council on Secondary Education

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Foreword

HOW far we have come in a few years from our preoccupation with the surface signs and symptoms of student unrest and disaffection! How far we have yet to go in finding constructive ways to make use of expressions of dissent in developing richer and more relevant school experiences for today's youth!

This publication leaves us with these two general impressions for sure. But it also opens up for us, with the varied outlooks of its contributors, several other possibilities. For one thing, any reader who feels "out of it," so to speak, or in the current lingo, not fully "with it," will find here the beginnings of a year's reading that should enable him to understand where what he is hearing and witnessing comes from; the references in these statements comprise a highly selected and sophisticated reading list.

Also, by putting contrasting viewpoints side by side, a reader should be able to highlight the major contentions between one set of youthful critics and another; not all students find the same things at fault in the schools or in the society. The reader already well acquainted with the arena of student unrest will be much interested in testing his framework for thinking about the field with that of other well informed persons.

The Association is deeply indebted to the contributors to this publication as it is to its Council on Secondary Education and to the Council's chairman, Galen Saylor, who has joined with another Council member, Richard Hart, to edit the booklet.

ALEXANDER FRAZIER, *President 1969-70*
Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development

Preface

BECAUSE of its keen interest in the instructional program of the secondary school, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development made a firm commitment for this aspect of education by establishing in October 1963 the Council on Secondary Education. This Council began its early deliberations by exploring ways to serve the many persons who are engaged in secondary education. Most of this early exploration was carried on through the work of task forces on specific topics. Eventually the Council members decided that they would spotlight *humaneness* as a critical concern in American secondary education. Several small regional conferences were sponsored and the proceedings of these early efforts were reported in the ASCD booklet, *Humanizing the Secondary School,* edited by Norman K. Hamilton and J. Galen Saylor.

More recently the members of the Council have noted with concern the fact that adolescents throughout the country are becoming increasingly overt in expressing their dissatisfaction with various aspects of society. One aspect that draws their special ire is the educational program of the schools they attend. During the span of the past year and a half, the ASCD Council on Secondary Education planned and conducted two regional conferences on the general theme, "Student Unrest."

The first conference, "Student Unrest: Threat or Promise?" was held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 16 through 19, 1969, under the chairmanship of Nathaniel Moore. The format of the conference included presentations by the several speakers followed by ample time for the clarification and amplification of major points through round table discussions. During one of the evening sessions, undergraduates from colleges and universities in the Atlanta area were invited to constitute a panel and share with the conference participants their personal feelings about the causes and cures for the existing wave of student dissent.

As a direct result of continued interest in this phenomenon, a second conference, "Student Unrest: Implications for Secondary Schools," was sponsored by the Council in New Orleans, Louisiana, November 6 through 9, 1969, under the chairmanship of Galen Saylor. Although the conference format was basically the same, there was one significant difference. Working with the New Orleans Public Schools, approximately 25 high school students were invited to be participants throughout the conference as well as panel members of a special opening session.

In order to better understand the implications of the phenomenon of student dissent for program development, renowned scholars and practitioners were invited to present manuscripts at both conferences. They were asked to help answer the following types of questions:

1. Historically, what are the relationships between current and past student unrest topics, causes, and methods of protestation?

2. What needs, motives, and aspirations of youth are not being met in our modern, technological society?

3. What are the unique characteristics of two specific groups of disenchanted youth—those unhappy with second class citizenship and those dissatisfied with society's overemphasis on materialism and pragmatism?

4. What are some promising short- and long-range program proposals for making education relevant for youth?

5. What are some promising strategies of conflict intervention and conflict resolution?

The respective manuscripts in this booklet evolved from the proceedings of the two conferences. Unfortunately, we did not capture the insightful remarks of the students during the give-and-take of the round table discussions.

RICHARD V. BROWN
ASCD Associate Secretary
and Liaison Staff Member,
ASCD Council on Secondary Education

“Life Is Not Breath, But Action . . .”

RICHARD L. HART

Teach him to live
rather than to avoid death:
life is not breath,
but action,
the use of our senses,
our mind,
our faculties,
every part of ourselves
which makes us conscious
of our being.

Jean Jacques Rousseau

MANY of the headlines in today's newspapers and popular magazines and most of the debate heard in the chambers of our state legislatures would lead us to believe that this generation of college and high school students have followed Rousseau's advice to the extreme in regard to *action* with little attention to the *mind*. The response from militant leaders throughout the nation amounts to, “You ain't seen nothin' yet!”

And so the stage is set as the 1969-70 school year begins across the land. School administrators and teachers are beset with a range of questions which have generally lurked in the background until recently, questions which now demand answers: How can the right to dissent be protected? What are the limits of “reasonable” dissent? Is there such a thing as “unreasonable” dissent? What has caused some students to resort to violence? Can any types of violence be tolerated? Can answers to today's problems be found through reorganization of our schools, or do the answers lie in the area of complete social change?

There is little question that the problems being faced today in our schools are different from those of yesterday. The cause of today's problems unquestionably is more than the generation gap, a gap which has probably always existed between the youth and the adults.

The agony of our cities, the war in Vietnam, the issue of law and order, the Black Power struggle—all of these factors have combined to produce a revolutionary attitude among the young unlike anything we have known in the past. Reactions to this attitude from the educational leadership cannot be based solely on tradition. The "established answer" may not always have its roots in today's reason and rationality. As an example of the type of irrational stance taken upon occasion by some school administrators, critics point out that it becomes a crime of violence to destroy records in the office of a department chairman, but it is a display of school spirit to destroy goalposts after an important victory by the men of Old Siwash U.

Anyone who claims to have a panacea for all the problems of our schools is either a fool or a charlatan, and the answers will not be found in this booklet; but the members of the ASCD Council on Secondary Education believe that readers will be aided in clarifying and crystallizing their thinking through an examination of the papers presented. Readers will find clear analyses of the problem, differing views regarding activism among students, and concrete suggestions for curricular and administrative responses to the student appeal for change.

Each chapter is the view of the individual author, and no attempt has been made to establish "a party line." The ASCD Council on Secondary Education believes that this booklet adds significantly to the literature on the subject of dissent and unrest among our youth in secondary schools.

Goodbye, Mr. Chips?

FRANCIS A. J. IANNI

Though not suggesting that violence in the schools should be encouraged, Francis Ianni believes that violence is not an unnatural outgrowth of the struggle for power—". . . violence is part of the life of every child and to assume that the teacher . . . must by profession be dedicated to an unremitting crusade against it in every shape and form is unrealistic." That members of the academic community should be targets of violence should not be surprising, he asserts, inasmuch as professors and teachers are now, as probably never before, involved in government, education, health, welfare, science, and technology as policy makers, not merely policy advisors.

He sees the current mood of unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of students as an opportunity for educators—"the firm foundation for a new kind of school."—RLH

THE next few years of social history must be critically important ones as education and society turn their social, economic, political, and even technological probes back into a posture of self-examination and appraisal. Already the issues and the protagonists are defining the limits of the continuum. Jacques Barzun and more recently Sidney Hook have called for a retreat from academic activism in the outside world. Noam Chomsky, Connor Cruse O'Brien, and others are demanding an even greater campus commitment to "a movement for resistance and social change." But do we really have a choice? It is certain that we can no longer afford the dislocation and discomfort of trying to go both ways at once, but can we withdraw behind the walls assuming a new age of darkness and barbarism and dedicate our lives to the protection and cultivation of knowledge and beauty? Despite the growing sentiments for "a period of withdrawal and reanalysis of our role" in the face of recurrent waves of unrest, violence, oppression, and conflict, is this really a viable possibility for the future of education?

Educators as Members of the "Power Establishment"

Ever since Berkeley, we have been trying to convince ourselves that the current unrest on the American campus and in the school, while influenced by extra-academic social and moral crises, is really our own thing. We see it as somehow born in the gap between articulated humanitarian ideals and imperfect human actions, stirred by the Black Revolution and made articulate as a protest against the shame and hypocrisy of Vietnam, but still our own problem, to be resolved by us in our own way.

The American educational system has always been allowed to set its own boundaries and, within those ivied walls, reason and reformation, rational decision making and evolution, have set the mood and mode for our life style. Conflict and violence, the quest for power, and recourse to revolutionary strategies have never so animated life within these walls for, in our world view, these are precisely the elements of the political world which set us apart from it. We prefer the logical disputation of the dialectic to the direct language of confrontation or the promissory rhetoric of politics. We continue to design logical models of an ideal economic system or a sane social order for a *real* world which refuses to heed our theoretical dictates because it is, in fact, often illogical.

In health, in education, in welfare, in the management of bureaucracies, in the shaping of economic policies and of foreign affairs, in every aspect of human life and action, we are the people who give the advice, design the techniques, and train the leadership which orients modern life and shapes the future. Our growing influence, in a world where theoretical knowledge is increasingly viewed as the key to power, makes it impossible for us to hold that in isolation behind ivy walls we are objective observers and somehow a breed of men apart. Consider, for example, the academic.

While we have always served as advisors, our voice in government and, to a lesser extent, in business has become far more persuasive since World War II. The principal policy spokesmen on both sides of the Vietnam issues are either professors or former professors and a few schoolteachers. Much of our economic planning publicly bears the name of well-known professors of economics.

Similarly, in education, health, and welfare as well as in science and technology, professors are now involved as policy makers, not merely policy advisors. In the last Johnson cabinet, five members as well as the Vice President and the President and most of the Presidential advisors had served at some point in their careers on the faculty of institutions of higher education or in schools. In fact, the exodus from Washington of the Democratic administration seemed to be from the Potomac to the promised land of the campus as the President, the Vice President, and many of the cabinet and sub-cabinet officials headed for campuses or for the campus-oriented world of the foundations.

The academic lines to the outside world are not restricted to government and industry. Educators are in the major policy-making posts in virtually every national foundation and there are growing exchanges of personnel between the mass media and the campus, as there have always been in the literary world. Moreover, the phenomenon of the private research or consultation corporation started by individuals or by teams of academics is now a common one at most universities.

In setting up our own counterpart of the military-industrial complex, we have enlarged the already significant breaches in the academic wall which have been made from inside as we reach out into the world for power, prestige, and profit.

Now, there is nothing inherently wrong with professors in politics or in policy-making posts. Yet as we become more involved in policy making, and as foreign and domestic policies increasingly bear the name and stamp of academics, disengagement of the campus from the political arena becomes impossible. Those of us who have served in policy-level posts in government publicly bear the burden of the social, educational, economic, and political policies we have helped to shape. The encounters and issues can never again be someone else's, for we bring them back to the campus with us. And the campus changes as a result.

It is, in fact, an interesting argument in support of student activism on campus that since World War II a revolution has taken place within universities, involving a shift of power from the administration to distinguished faculty members. The demands of government and industry for consultants and researchers have produced a breed of stars and super-stars on faculties. In command of high prices, and with the power over the purse through research grants, they now exercise considerable power on the campus as well. John Fischer argues that this revolution, this shift in power, has been carried out to the detriment of students.[1] Professors devote fewer hours to teaching; they are more concerned with research (and its financial and political power benefits) than with scholarship; their interest in students is restricted to recruiting members of their research teams. Responding as an exploited minority, the student rejects the system. His protest is really a counterrevolution, a revolt against the revolt that he feels removed true education from the campus and subverted his interests. Generally it is the administration which comes under attack, but it is the faculty which is the immediate cause of discontent.

Power and Violence

Faculty involvements on the one hand and student unrest on the other provide evidence that our preferred techniques of reason, reformation, and evolution have lost their credence as techniques for social action in a violent world—newly partisan—and in an increasingly revolutionary society.

Up until quite recently it was possible to accept Kenneth Keniston's characterization of students as abhorring violence and actively rejecting it within the nonviolent world of the campus insulated from the jungle outside the walls.[2] Today civil disorder on the part of students or on behalf of education is the disorder of the day. Whether this disorder was on the streets protesting the public schools or on college and university campuses demanding a voice, the message is still the same; education, at all levels, can no longer pretend that violence does not exist. Neither can we continue to assume that violence on the campus is nothing more than a series of isolated incidents triggered by black extremists and somehow different from violence elsewhere. It *is* a part of the eruption in the ghetto, but it is also part of our own involvement as a direct aspirant for power; it is an escalating phenomenon and it says that our traditional preferences for reason, reform, and evolution are being challenged on campus as well as off. In fact, it is not *unrest,* but *violence* which has activated concern and now counter-reaction.

The summers of rebellion in the ghetto, followed by an autumn of violence in the peace movement, have given way to a spring marked by violence on the campus and a summer which saw violence at both national political conventions. "Dissent" has grown into "resistance" and "civil disobedience" has replaced "passive resistance" in two years. Nor is this mood of acceptance of violence as a medium for social action found only in the camps of the Angry Left and the Black Power movement. Recent disclosures of violence in the Haight-Ashbury district and the East Village attest to the presence of hostilities among hippies and suggest that flower power alone is not enough to exorcise violence to and by the "Love Generation." First parents, then teachers, and now even high school students have taken to the streets to agitate for a share of power over the schools. Demonstrations against recruiters, secret government research, and even building programs have become increasingly violent on campuses throughout the country.

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[1] John Fischer. "Case for the Rebellious Students and Their Counterrevolution." *Harper's* 237 (1419): 9-12; August 1968.

[2] Kenneth Keniston. "Youth, Change and Violence." *American Scholar* 37 (2): 227-45; Spring 1968.

While the form and uses of violence vary from the ill-defined, passive-like "personal acts of civil disobedience" of the anti-war groups to the growing prevalence of even political assassination as a weapon by groups such as the Revolutionary Action Movement on the left and the Minute Men on the right, the sought-for end in each case is the same—social, economic, and political power. Violence thus viewed is not an end in itself nor even a form of release or therapy, but rather a means to a desired end. The new violence is part of a worldwide striving by various groups, from Paris to Pakistan, for their self-defined social goals, for a sense of participation in the exercise of power. Most clearly visible in the black view of violence is the replacement of the pursuit of social equality by a naked grab for power. To demand power is to be angry at powerlessness, and anger first looks to violence to redress violation.

Until recently power to most middle class whites was not a critical issue because they believed they had it. Today the violence which has come into the middle class home largely as a spectator sport has become the resort of middle class children who have experienced their own powerlessness in America. It is only now that violence for the middle class student is more than a word but is a personal involvement, for he is really part of it. His exploitation at the university level displays it and the classroom situation epitomizes it.

If you have ever spent any time in a classroom, particularly in a ghetto school, you are aware of the paradox posed by the fact that power and violence are a part of every school day, and yet neither power nor violence as concept or fact, as descriptions of the environment, is ever part of the curriculum.

Power is part of the armament of the teacher. He uses it to direct learning and behavior: he uses his status as the authority figure in the classroom to control and integrate behavior. Yet what do we do in these same classes to teach pupils to take power and find the security which comes with identity? As soon as the interactive process results in something disruptive, something nonintegrative, or something which threatens to produce conflict, the teacher turns it off, often by a show of his power.

And so with violence, its use or the threat of its use is one of the common weapons of the teacher in the war for control. Yet we expect children to check it at the door or to save it for games, toys, or sports. In fact, we even seek to bar it from play areas as unsportsmanlike. I am not suggesting here that raw violence in the schools is to be sought after or encouraged, but rather that violence is part of the life of every child and to assume that the teacher or the professor must by profession be dedicated to an unremitting crusade against it in every shape and form is unrealistic.

The problem is not just that we are uncomfortable with conflict and violence outside academic walls. We have yet to heed the lessons of the ghetto—indeed, of our own forays beyond the academic walls—and realize that we can no longer categorically reject violence as a technique for social action; we must understand it and its legitimate uses. It is unrealistic to assume that the campus and the school are somehow immune or that liaisons between campus activists and other revolutionary groups will not breed conflict and violence in the university. There is an air of expectancy that one feels on every major campus. One feels it in the awkwardness and stumbling attempts of the hastily organized "joint student-faculty committees" which now invade every aspect of academic and social affairs at every university.

The questions asked of administrators by the students on these committees seem incredibly naïve to many of the faculty members who, reared and molded in the system, have long accepted its peculiar and sometimes precious procedures. Yet many of these questions are those we should have been asking ourselves. The air of expectancy can be felt in the uneasiness of many faculty members and most deans who have yet to understand the new ground rules which admit students to colleagueship and make the standard answers seem absurd.

We must forget what we really never believed—that power somehow corrupts and that academic man must always be positioned slightly to the rear and left of the seat of power, the better to whisper in the ear of the mighty. We could learn from our students that more than the times are changing and that our styles of reason and reform may have a better chance of helping to influence these changes if they are publicly displayed and prosecuted with some imagination and vigor as alternatives to unreasonable violence and conflict. We can never again complain about what the world and the times are doing to us for it was we who first fared out into the world seeking adventure. Now there are no halfway houses, and we must either complete the journey or, like tourists, return to the security of home and show each other our color slides and souvenirs of a world that needs changing.

Changing Times—Changing Student Expectations

Today's high school students are the products of an environment which renders the classroom gray by comparison. The urban kaleidoscope, with its barrage of sensory stimuli, affords an entirely different ecological framework. Whereas man once found solace in natural proportions and took pleasure in the ordinary, he now requires the gigantic dimensions of his self-made environment. The headlines, the cinema, the urgency of every news broadcast exhaust his capacity for drama. Distracted only by the outlandish and the preposterous, he has been forced into anesthesia by the unrelenting pitch of urban emergency. His survival has hinged on apathy.

> Focused on the exciting and extreme, man is becoming indifferent to average dimensions, though these are the dimensions of mankind. The charm of the small has been transformed into the cult of the cute; indifference has become contempt. Moreover, for the man in the street, not involved in chemistry or nuclear physics, the minute has but partial interest. Only the supercolossal, such as a manned vehicle to the moon, or the shocking, such as a ghastly murder committed around the corner, really holds him.[3]

So, on the one hand, the student finds the school dull in his environmental context and, on the other, he is historically encouraged to vent that boredom. Though several factions comprise campus unrest, there are common denominators among them. First of all, the students want recognition from their institution—

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[3] Serge Chermayeff and Christopher Alexander. *Community and Privacy: Toward a New Architecture of Humanism*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963. p. 34. Copyright © 1963 by Serge Chermayeff. By permission.

both individually and as a group. Second, they want to participate in educational decision making—inside the classroom and within the total school community. All students, regardless of specific affiliations, are crying for "relevant curriculum" so that their studies might have something to do with their lives and with the world around them. These universal demands can be the educator's nemesis, or the firm foundation for a new kind of school.

Recognition, like most platitudinous promises, rings true and translates false. We say we recognize our students, yet our schools are more concerned with smoothness than with individual differences. The mechanisms of uniformity prevent long hair, short skirts, noise in the hall, freedom to walk without a pass, ad infinitum. Chewing gum, laughter, going to the park on a warm April day are the cardinal sins of high school. How long would an adult tolerate a corporation which withheld his pay for passing notes to a friend, or judged his achievement on the basis of *one* assignment (for example, the Regents exam), or detained him from going home because he giggled in the library? What we have so blithely expected of our children would be intolerable restrictions for grown men. In many ways, it is astounding that young people have taken so long to object.

Presumably, our schools are preparing young people to be contributive citizens in a democratic society. In our sociopolitical traditions, democracy is the *only* form of government, and anyone opposed to it must necessarily be a villain. Democracy, it is learned, is a synonym for freedom, and the United States is a country of participatory democracy, a living monument to "the general will," a place where anyone can do what he wants. So, when you are electing a student officer, keep in mind that he has enormous responsibilities: choosing a place for the prom, collecting dues, distributing the yearbook, and planning class trips. Apart from this traditional token student government, the student is victimized by the previously mentioned harangue—no smoking in the bathroom! walk in a straight line! cut that hair! lengthen that skirt! Five minutes later, those same children reiterate "with liberty and justice for all." The phenomenon of this paradox is that we somehow expect youngsters to swallow it, absorb it, and live by it.

The student knows he is impotent in the school, a school which constantly emphasizes individual power in a democratic system. The discrepancy between curriculum and the realities of the United States is comparably blatant. Children are told they study history so that civilization can learn from its mistakes. They are also taught the ancient activities of men as if there were a logical continuity, a network of reason superimposed on the world. Nothing is more apparent to the average person than man's persistence in repeating his mistakes; the first World War did not prevent the second, John Kennedy's assassination did not prevent Robert Kennedy's, one summer of riots was not followed by a quiet one. And the so-called network of reason which pervades history books belongs to the author, because he requires order for expression. A school need not prepare prophets of futility, but often that is *exactly* what it does. If one is deluded into believing in a unified humanity, if he expects to grow up to a rational, purposive universe, he is bound to be disillusioned. Why must his intellectual energies exhaust themselves in that recognition? By giving our children a view of history *we* do not believe, we simply waste their time and obstruct their ability as adults.

Needed School Reform

The student movement has thrown millions of parental and professional hands up in despair: "What have we done?" Well, just about everything. No one likes being duped, and students everywhere have been the victims of our own self-deceit; in 1969, the extent of that deceit has never been so glaring. The "gap" between what is taught in the classroom and what actually exists has grown into an "abyss." Young people expect peace and find violence, look for a river and find liquid muck, demand justice and get expediency. And when our children are shocked by the inaccuracy of those inherited "truths," we wonder why growing up involves such an upheaval.

The student movement has given birth to a series of astute perceptions and suggestions for the educational process. Repressing those ideas not only postpones and prolongs institutional agony, but deprives educational leaders of an invaluable resource. Much of the student movement is naïve and simplistic, and much of the educational institution is tired and stale. Letting students into their own schools can familiarize them with the intricacies and subtleties of the democratic process, and can simultaneously revive the process itself.

Urban schools, because of their inability to ensure basic skills to children of diverse and frequently impoverished backgrounds, are the most obvious targets for reform. The black student movement, focused on *racial* recognition, participation, and curriculum, is largely supported and encouraged by parents. Ghetto dwellers have, after all, been plagued with a ubiquitous sense of powerlessness, injustice, and political impotence; they want something else for their children. The educational administrator in urban schools receives two cries for change, and is frequently paralyzed by the pressure. He, too, can benefit from both. He can go to the community before it comes to him—not through scouts, or representatives, but personally. He can initiate periodic meetings with members (not just *leaders*) of the community. He can seek advice and use it, find out what is expected of the school in relationship to the community—not because he is trying to prevent "trouble," but because this is what a school is about. A school is more than a breeding ground for technicians; it is a social, political, and economic instrument. If the local community has grievances—for instance, the need for a new housing project—an effective principal or superintendent must know about it, and be able to use the school's power to effect change. He might see to it that members of an English class practice letter writing to their congressmen, or to the mayor's office, or to the President. A political science class might draw up a petition—not a mock example to be discarded, but for actual use.

As for the students themselves, curriculum should be geared toward theory *and* practice. Educational decision making, like education itself, is a combination of the students, the faculty, *and* the administration. Because of the administrator's conventional isolation from individual children, he often makes judgments in a vacuum. Social rules must be arrived at through a combined effort, so that teachers and administration do not have to rely on antiquated expectations, and so that students are not subjected to such arbitrary notions. Tutoring, creative writing, and other activities outside the school are usually considered "extracurricular," yet they are essential in a child's development. Familiarity with the local community and society at large is not a luxury, but a necessity for present students. Latin lessons are only a part of learning, as are term papers and book reports, and the sources for research are not confined to the library.

Students in suburbia do not always find parental agreement. Their gripes may be less precise than the black community's, but no less urgent. They, too, are beaten down, restricted, and deluded by the school system. Many suburban youngsters challenge inequity, some are apathetic, but still more choose to play along until they are in positions of authority as adults. That suburban rebels are in a minority does not minimize the legitimacy of their demands; that many of them *do* learn and go on to fine colleges does not affirm the school's quality. It is a tribute to their ambitions and aspirations that suburban children learn *in spite* of their schools.

The educational administrator in suburbia is blessed and plagued. His students, because of their middle-class cultural advantages, have the interest and enthusiasm necessary for change. The community, however, is infinitely more self-satisfied than the ghetto, and is comfortable with the status quo. If the administrator were to let his students into their schools, he might jolt the community, but that jolt need not be negative. A healthy institution is a positive force, regardless of the initial receptivity surrounding it. Complacency is a much more dangerous alternative.

It is tempting to run from an ugly reflection in a mirror—to call it distorted, inaccurate, and meaningless. Such an impulse also keeps a person from changing his outfit and examining his features closely. The student movement is offering an opportunity for educational reassessment, and we are bound to look at ourselves closely, or remain deluded by a glossed-over self-image.

The Spectrum of Disenchantment

MAXINE GREENE

In a scholarly and penetrating analysis of the nature and character of student protest movements, Maxine Greene rejects summarily the easy-way-out point of view of Lewis Feuer and others that the present period of student activism is primarily the historically based conflict between generations.

Professor Greene insists that these are significantly different times than those in which previous generations grew to maturity, and that the disenchantment of youth stems from these new social and political conditions resulting in their sincere and deep-seated rejection of some of the institutional forms, the social inanities, and the political "mess" we older-generation citizens have left for them as their inheritance.

Quoting the eminent anthropologist-sociologist, Margaret Mead, she agrees that it is really the older people who are now the "immigrants" in a new kind of world which the young insist must prevail. The kind of culture being sought by youth today "is so new to most of us, it seems unpleasant, often strange."

After analyzing the nature and character of disenchantment among high school and college students, Dr. Greene, to a large extent, supports youth in their viewpoints and demands. But she strongly opposes violence and anti-democratic processes and procedures in achieving a new social, political, and educational order. Change, but major changes, remember—not just piddling around with existing structures—should be achieved by democratic processes. What should older-generation people do? "Keep an endless watch on ourselves!"—JGS

THIS is a tonic time, an uneasy time, a time of unmatched perplexity. And it is a time of creeping fear, I believe, accompanied by the feeling that everything has been said. Not long ago, let us say a year ago, before the Columbia disturbances and before the high school students began stirring so restlessly, one could summon up metaphors to describe the young people crowding to the front of the stage in the tumultuous theatre of American life. One could talk about those who were billed as the "now," the "mod," the "protest" generation, about the spotlights picking out the hippies and the flower children, the draft resisters, the New Left revolutionaries. One could, if one chose, talk entertainingly and knowingly about beards, long hair, sandals, headbands, beads. One could refer pleasantly to the sound of folk-rock music swelling around, with the words running into each other: "She's leaving home . . ."; "The times they are a'changin' . . ."; "Hope I die before I get old . . ."; "I've got those younger generation, regurgitating blues."

One could be audience, if you like, enjoying the spectacle, half-identified—like Norman Mailer at the March to the Pentagon, watching the crowds spread over the fields. They were, he wrote,

> . . . a citizen's army not ranked yet by height, an army of both sexes and in numbers almost equal, and of all ages, although most were young. Some were well-dressed, some were poor, many were conventional in appearance, as often were not. The hippies were there in great number, perambulating down the hill, many dressed like the legions of Sgt. Pepper's Band, some were gotten up like Arab sheiks, or in Park Avenue doormen's greatcoats, others like Rogers and Clark of the West. . . .[1]

An exotic spectacle at that moment—before the confrontation and the violence; a grand, invigorating show.

Today, of course, it is quite different; we can no longer stand back and enjoy (or vicariously identify, or complacently bemoan). What was once pageant or musical comedy has begun to resemble the Living Theatre, which treats (as Judith Malina says[2]) "containment" as the enemy. The Living Theatre[3] is an art form demanding a relentless expenditure of energy; it is the kind of theatre, remarks Robert Brustein,[4] in which spontaneity is valued for its own sake—and in which it is always likely to descend into "crude infantilism." The audience for that theatre cannot sit comfortably in the semi-darkness; it is teased, accosted, forcibly involved.

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[1] Norman Mailer. *Armies of the Night.* New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1968. p. 91. Copyright © 1968 by Norman Mailer. Reprinted by permission of the author and his agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc., 580 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036.

[2] Robert Brustein. "Monkey Business." *The New York Review of Books* 12 (8): 43-46; April 24, 1969.

[3] Elenore Lester. "The Living Theatre Presents: Revolution! Joy! Protest! Shock! Etc.!" *The New York Times Magazine* 118 (40,440): 53+; October 13, 1968; and "Professor of the Dionysiac Theater." *The New York Times Magazine* 118 (40,636): 32-33+; April 27, 1969.

If this is how student unrest strikes us, it may mean that young people really have succeeded in breaking with conventions in precisely the way the artists are doing. Or it may mean that we are as "up tight" as they say we are, that we insist on peering through the old spectacles upon an entirely altered world. I want to talk about conventions and vantage points as I try to shed some light upon varieties of disenchantment. My effort will not be to solve the problems, nor to translate *Paradise Now* into *South Pacific.* Rather, it will be to point to possibilities of making sense, closing gaps, healing wounds.

Older People as the Immigrants

To begin with, I would assert that what Margaret Mead has been saying is probably correct: we older people are the immigrants, the aliens in the new technological world; and the traditional principles by which we have lived (and which we continue to cherish) are nothing more than outmoded forms for the young.[5] Peter Marin, writing in *The Center Magazine,*[6] reminds us that our ideas respecting young people are inherited from the 19th century, "from an industrial, relatively puritanical, repressive, and 'localized' culture," that we are trying to gum them "like labels" to new kinds of experience. What emerges through today's young, he says, "as the psyche of this culture, is post-industrial, relatively unrepressed, less literate and local, a new combination of elements, almost a new strain." Because it is so new to most of us, it seems unpleasant, often strange.

Huston Smith, writing in the Phi Beta Kappa *Key Reporter,*[7] talks about the quality of surrealism creeping over the ivy-covered campus he used to know: "Even the junior faculty seem different. How is it that so many look like Ché Guevara: boots, black jackets, black beards, well-built? And why do they so often walk in pairs as they stride toward me in the evening down long, narrow halls?" High school teachers are beginning to use the same tone when they describe some of the booted, amuleted young in their schools, accoutred for violence, for defiance, and (presumably) for radical change.

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[4] Robert Brustein, quoted in: Walter Goodman. "On-Doing-One's-Thing." *The American Scholar* 38 (2): 241; Spring 1969.

[5] Margaret Mead. 5th Man and Nature Lecture at American Museum of Natural History, reported in: *The New York Times* 118 (40,594): 62; March 16, 1969.

[6] Peter Marin. "The Open Truth and Fiery Vehemence of Youth: A Sort of Soliloquy." *The Center Magazine* 2 (1): 61-74; January 1969.

[7] Huston Smith. "Like It Is: The University Today." *The Key Reporter,* Winter 1968-69. pp. 2-4.

We too often forget how radically the world has changed from the days of our own youth. Perhaps, in trying to diagnose the change, we put too much stress on the relatively superficial aspects: the qualities of modern life which make it resemble an inchoate Happening, without beginnings, middles, or ends; or the "global village" (Marshall McLuhan has told us) our television sets create. Perhaps we underestimate the difficulty of being young today by harking back too much to our own early deprivations, to the depression, the Second World War. We think too seldom about what it is like to be young in a country apparently dominated by a military-industrial complex impervious to individual desire and demand. We pay too little heed to the terror underlying the debate over the ABM, to the possibility of an endless spiral and proliferation of new weapons and anti-weapons, leading (so it would appear) inexorably to nuclear war.

We do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that 3,500,000 men are in the armed services and that 40,000 have been killed in a sickening, shameful war which no one even attempts any longer to justify. And so it has been since that war began. Says Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame:

> Too few of the elders really debated the issues or drew back from the mounting cost in lives and dollars. Few really asked about the morality of our national course in spending $30 billion a year tearing up a plot of land and people while the whole wide world of dire human need and misery merited only $2 billion annually in critical assistance.[8]

Perhaps it is true, as Harvard's Professor George Wald said in a speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology,[9] that those of us who were growing up before World War II thought that the Pentagon, the big army, the draft—none of which *we* had known in our early lives—were temporary aberrations, that we would "get back to normal" when the war was won.

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[8] Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh. Michigan State University Commencement Speech; February 1969.

[9] George Wald. "A Generation in Search of a Future." Speech given on March 4, 1969, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Reprinted in *The New Yorker* 45 (5): 29-31; March 22, 1969.

One of the conventional notions many of us still carry with us is that all these are emergency measures and that, inevitably, we will soon return to what we believe to be the norm. In this sense, too, we are immigrants in the young people's world—in which a Pentagon, a draft, chemical warfare, a Fail-Safe system, and the rest have always existed; and we are finding our acculturation extremely painful. "I think I know what is bothering the students," said Professor Wald. "I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure they have a future." There was no H bomb, you recall, when most of us were adolescent, no population explosion, no threat of a "silent spring." We grew up—many of us grew up—with the beautiful faith that at least one of the new societies in the world was heralding the building of a heavenly city on earth. It would be strange, indeed, if we were confronting a generation "by no means sure they have a future" with such a sanguine, millennial faith.

Now all of this is meant to suggest that I consider the unrest among students, even high school students, to be something much, much more than a dramatic instance of generational revolt. I am willing to admit, with Lewis Feuer,[10] that there is a psychic component in student rebellions wherever they break out; but I do not agree with him that social concerns are generally subordinate to the need to attack the authority of the fathers, mainly because of an inability to identify with the fathers' generation. It seems to me that Professor Feuer, like others who choose to interpret what is happening as nothing but an expression of a recurrent "generation gap," neglects to ask the most crucial questions—questions which must be held in mind as one ventures a critique of some of the things the students do. Where has our generation failed? What has caused so many young people—bright and sensitive young people—to lose respect for us? What accounts for the fact that, in spite of our affluence and social progress, in spite of our continuing attempts at reform, they are accusing us of being no better than the "good Germans" who (for the best of motives) supported Hitler in his crimes against mankind?

[10] Lewis S. Feuer. *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1969.

The Nature and Character of Disenchantment

Before confronting such questions, it is necessary to make distinctions among the aims and motivations of the disenchanted young, since it is no longer possible to generalize about "youth" or "student unrest." There are, focally, the black students, enraged by racism or neglect or discrimination, largely committed to effecting change within the system, despite the revolutionary rhetoric of Black Panther leaders or followers of Fanon and Malcolm X. When Stokely Carmichael addresses black student audiences and makes them shout together, "We are beautiful, we are beautiful, we are black and beautiful," he is trying to give them a sense of pride and delight, so that they can cope more effectively with the system and open the channels through which they can "make it." At the moment, blacks are fighting for this autonomously (and this, too, is part of the struggle against shame and dependency). Therefore, it seems to me to be wrong, both misleading and insulting, to subsume what they are doing under a rubric of student disenchantment or unrest. The black revolt, I am convinced, must be dealt with on its own terms.

Among High School Students

Similarly, to some degree, must the restiveness within the high schools be dealt with on its own terms, although we are discovering—as adolescents begin attending SDS conventions, demonstrations, and "inhogurations," and putting out their own literature—that there are many points of overlap. We can probably make fewer reliable generalizations about this than we can about the campus revolt and the rage of black students; but I think we know enough to realize that we need new modes of perception where today's adolescents are concerned. We need a new, unquestionably painful, awareness that we no longer strike them as wise men or trustworthy authorities, and that they are more likely to turn to the so-called "counter culture" [11] of the "under 30" group, to the mass media, and to their own immediate experiences for guidance than they are to turn to their elders—to us.

If there is any prescription I take seriously, it is the one that tells us to do something about our tendency to conceive the adolescent as someone isolated from the "world," to think of him as

[11] Theodore Roszak. "The Counter Culture, Parts I-IV." *The Nation* 206 (13, 14, 15, 16): 400-407, 439-43, 466-71, 497-503; March 25-April 15, 1968.

somehow deviant, a "teen-ager," [12] a kind of chameleon, not really a "person" because he has not yet chosen himself. I am not sure about the charges that the schools merely "process" adolescents,[13] merely require of them a kind of orderliness, "goodness," conventionality, a playing out of middle class attitudes.[14] If this is what the schools are supposed to do, they have not been very successful at their task.

It seems altogether clear that the environment outside the schools, with the "happenings" it offers, the costumes, the sounds, the modes of acting out, is at least as educative and significant as the "processing" and "conditioning" which purportedly occur within the schools. It seems obvious that folk-rock poetry is more meaningful to youngsters than Keats and Wordsworth, that Tolkien is more relevant than Rawlings. The day-to-day experiences of the high school student outside the school are rich and complex; no matter how we perceive his "innocence," he is likely to be exposed in his ordinary living to the dualities and tensions which beset us all.

It is not really surprising that so many young people, encountering ambiguities on every side, choose the paths of bohemianism, dandyism, rowdyism, or "cop-out." They will continue to do so if we cannot find better ways of effecting connections between them and, let us say, the domain of meaning, between them and what we call the "real world." This is one of the things they are, in their own fashion, demanding. Joseph Caliguri, among many others, has predicted that "Secondary students will 'audition' for a part in the social/political drama of our time." [15] Perhaps that is what they are presently doing; but, if we look fondly at them and tell them they are too young to audition, we may lose them at an ever-increasing rate.

The signals are clear enough. "Fed by the mass media, urged by parents and teachers to inquire, the students are sensitive to the larger world—and their limited role in it—as no generation before."[16] Also: " 'HIPS [the High School Independent Press Service] is very much in the revolutionary bag,' a staffer admits. '. . . HIPS gets people to think. Gets them radicalized. . . .' "[17] A flyer distributed by the High School Students' Union in New York challenged the school itself with rhetoric familiar to anyone who has followed student unrest since 1964:

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[12] See: Fritz Redl. For example: *When We Deal with Children: Selected Writings.* New York: The Free Press, 1966. pp. 10-11.

[13] See: Edgar Z. Friedenberg. *Coming of Age in America.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1965; and Jules Henry. *Culture Against Man.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1963.

[14] See: Friedenberg, *ibid.*, and Friedenberg's contributions to: Harold Taylor, editor. *The Humanities in the Schools.* New York: Citation Press, 1968.

[15] Joseph Caliguri. "Adolescent Power and School Policy." *Journal of Secondary Education* 43 (6): 265-69; October 1968.

> The main thing that's taught to us in school is how to be good niggers, obey rules, dress in our uniforms, play the game, and NO, Don't be UPPITY. Oh we're trained for participating in the "democratic process"—we have our student governments—they can legislate about basketball games and other meaningful topics. Don't mention the curriculum. They'll tell us what to learn. . . . Not only are we forced to attend school in the first place, we have to carry I.D. cards at all times, walk on the right side, and if the teacher doesn't want us to, we can't even take a ——.[18]

Our high schools have probably not yet become the "faceless education factory" Stephen Spender sees when he looks at the university.[19] Lectures are not given on TV to "overflow audiences" in the secondary school, as they are frequently in college. Tests are not as often made "by mechanical systems"; teachers are not quite as unapproachable as professors tend to be. Even so, many high school students are talking as if they shared the predicaments of the advocates of student power on the college campuses. The college advocates focus their anger on the institutions they attend—an anger with an important place on the spectrum of disenchantment which I am trying to describe. As expressed, this anger is directed against the increasing impersonality of the university, faculty neglect of teaching obligations, outmoded parietal rules. I am not sure if it matters very much whether this sort of resentment is warranted among high school students.

What *does* matter is that many of them have joined the well-publicized "adversary culture"[20] created by the college students, a culture which imposes various kinds of ritual behavior and ritual talk. Commissioner Allen was undoubtedly correct when he suggested that high school student demands for participation "in the operation and management of institutions affecting their lives" should be welcomed and made an occasion for the teaching of "responsible citizenship." [21] The University of Oregon's Bureau of Educational Research suggested that student involvement "can become a working exercise in the relationship between freedom and responsibility and add real vitality to the educational program . . . if a design exists to channel the force." [22] Ritual or no, imitative or no, the inchoate demands for "involvement" can be transmuted into learning experiences.

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[16] Diane Divoky. "The Way It's Going To Be." *Saturday Review* 52 (7): 84; February 15, 1969.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[18] Nicholas Pileggi. "Revolutionaries Who Have To Be Home by 7:30." *The New York Times Magazine* 118 (40,594): 26-27+; March 16, 1969. © 1969 by The New York Times Company. By permission.

[19] Stephen Spender. "What the Rebellious Students Want." *The New York Times Magazine* 118 (40,608): 56-74; March 30, 1969.

[20] See: "The Two Environments." In: Lionel Trilling. *Beyond Culture: Essays on Literature and Learning*. New York: The Viking Press, 1965.

Among College Students

The campaigns for student power in the colleges and universities must be somewhat differently conceived. In many respects, they are justified by what is visibly happening, especially in the institutions which attract the most gifted among American youth; and it is somewhat more difficult to "channel the force" at Harvard University, for example, or Columbia, or Chicago, or Berkeley. Valedictory addresses at commencements all over the nation this year are testimony to a sense of outrage which has not been assuaged by involvement in decision making. The outrage is only partially attributable to what Harold Taylor calls the university's failure "to take its students seriously." [23] It is also a function of the students' perception of the role played by the university in a society considered inequitable, exploitative, and unjust. Indeed, the young people are the ones who have been articulating a whole range of troubling questions respecting relations between our educational establishments and the "military-industrial complex."

They have exposed the anachronistic nature of the claims made by certain academics that the university remains, beneath the turbulent surfaces, "a community of scholars," a sanctuary for "sweet reason." They have gathered a great deal of evidence, in fact, to support what they are saying: the $200 million received, for instance, by the University of California from the Atomic Energy Commission for work on nuclear explosives; the status of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and of Johns Hopkins University as major military/aerospace corporations; and Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses. Kenneth Clark has reminded us that it was the students—not the faculty members—who first raised the question of the morality of racial segregation in public places in college communities, who first questioned the propriety of academic institutions' engaging in secret military and espionage research, who first raised "the fundamental question of a positive role and responsibility of an academic institution in its immediate community." [24]

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[21] James E. Allen, Jr. Quoted in *Education U.S.A.;* April 28, 1969.

[22] Kenneth Erickson, George Benson, and Robert Huff. *Activism in the Secondary Schools: Analysis and Recommendations.* Eugene: Bureau of Educational Research, University of Oregon, March 1969.

[23] Harold Taylor. *Students Without Teachers: The Crisis in the University.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969.

The same students have begun to identify some of the ways in which the public schools serve as agencies of selection in our society, as social engineering devices for allotting manpower where it is required. They are the ones who circulated Jerry Farber's widely read essay, "The Student as Nigger." [25] Many have learned to talk about high schools the way Paul Goodman [26] and Edgar Z. Friedenberg talk about them; and this may well have stimulated the rebellious rhetoric in certain of the high schools. Adolescents have many good reasons for rebellion against authority and control. They have a special sensitivity to what Holden Caulfield called the "phoney"; but they needed a usable—and available—language, it seems to me, if they were to translate adolescent uncertainty and malaise into a pointed critique of their schools. The language became available, as we have seen, in recent months; restiveness and disenchantment were focused with its aid, and the high school "revolt" began. It is almost too much of a coincidence, for example, for a New York City adolescent—without a context of conventional rhetoric—to say (as one recently did): "They play pighawk Nazi—and we play oppressed-dove-nigger. As soon as we can show white kids that in this country all students are niggers, then we can take to the streets." [27]

Just as high school discontent overlaps discontent on the college campus, so does the "student power" position overlap the more radical, perhaps revolutionary position, best exemplified by the Students for a Democratic Society. There are internal disagreements in the Students for a Democratic Society [28]; but all the members presently agree that the school and university both are nothing more than corrupt institutions, exemplary of the power structures which must be destroyed if a humane society is ever to emerge. These are the students whose slogan might be the verse from *Marat/Sade* [29]: "We want our rights, and we don't care how. We want the revolution now!"—or the variant, written on the walls of the London School of Economics and in the New York high school newspaper, *Neo-Dwarf*, "We want the world, and we want it now."

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[24] Kenneth B. Clark. "Learning from Students." *Antioch Notes;* November 1968.

[25] Jerry Farber. "The Student as Nigger." *This Magazine Is About Schools;* Winter 1967-68.

[26] See, for example: Paul Goodman. *Compulsory Miseducation and the Community of Scholars.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1964.

[27] Pileggi, *op. cit.*

The young radicals believe, it often appears, in struggle for its own sake. They find their inspiration (or most of them do) not in the Russian or Chinese models of revolution but in the Cuban and Vietnamese. Like the early Marx, they say a new order will be forged as the struggle proceeds; they do not feel called upon to define a utopia. They talk vaguely about a vision of society as entirely free, without repression, exploitation, bureaucracy, or militarism, a society inviting universal participation in whatever decisions have to be made. Some of them, the Progressive Labor faction, are now talking about alliances with members of the working class and describing the student struggle as part of the class struggle.[30]

Others, probably the larger number, talk of going it alone. They would work to disrupt and eventually destroy the university with the objective of shocking, radicalizing, and arousing their fellow students who are expected, in time, to go back and revolutionize their own communities. They consider violence as in some manner cleansing; they quote, on certain intense occasions, Ché Guevara's dictum that hatred has the capacity to transform those who struggle into an effective, violent, cold killing machine.

There are, further along the spectrum, usually functioning impulsively and arbitrarily on the sidelines, the "Crazies" or the "Yippies." These are the people who disrupt classes and run naked through hallways and dress in costumes and carry on, in Abbie

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[28] Thomas R. Brooks. "Metamorphosis in S.D.S.: The New Left Is Showing Its Age." *The New York Times Magazine* 118 (40,685): 14-15+; June 15, 1969.

[29] Peter Weiss. *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade*. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1965.

[30] Brooks, *op. cit.*

Hoffman's terms, "revolution for the hell of it." [31] On the one hand, they merge with the dying Hippie movement in their life style (which is characteristically communal), in their participation in the drug culture, in their mystical talk about (say) exorcising the Pentagon,[32] in their casual, humorous insistence on doing their "own thing." On the other hand, they merge with the radicals (who frequently disown them) in their justifications of disruption, their scorn of tolerance, their desire to break through custom and convention and force people to turn in upon themselves.

In sum, there is a spectrum, ranging from the black students' rebellion—from what is most appropriately called "black rage" [33]—through the vague malaise which besets innumerable young people who grow their hair, wear beads, listen to folk rock, watch the psychedelic light shows, and continue (wearily, disinterestedly) to conform; to the "seekers and heads" [34] of the drug culture; to the so-called "moderates" at odds with the multi-university or the imprisoning school; to the draft resisters (who sign their letters "in love and liberation"); to the radicals and revolutionaries.

When all the distinctions are made, we have to confront the fact that, as Charles Frankel has said, the crisis on the campuses and in the schools is a reflection in a peculiarly sensitive mirror of larger issues confronting American society: "the citizen's relation to government; the fundamental social experiences of subordination and superordination; and the very spirit and quality of personal relations." [35] The disenchantment with which we are concerned, I think, is a function of what Richard Goodwin [36] has called the "public unhappiness," rooted in the malaise of powerlessness, "which has eaten its way into our society, evoking an aimless unease, frustration, fury. . . ." It is not only the war and the large institutions

[31] Abbie Hoffman. *Revolution for the Hell of It.* New York: The Dial Press, 1968.

[32] See: Norman Mailer, *op. cit.*

[33] See: William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs. *Black Rage.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968.

[34] Kenneth Keniston. "Heads and Seekers: Drugs on Campus, Counter-Cultures and American Society." *The American Scholar* 38 (1): 97-112; Winter 1968-69.

[35] Charles Frankel. *Education and the Barricades.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1968. Copyright © 1968 by Charles Frankel. By permission.

[36] Richard Goodwin. "Sources of the Public Unhappiness." *The New Yorker* 44 (46): 38-42; January 4, 1969. Copyright © 1969 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc. By permission of The Sterling Lord Agency.

and the chill face of technology and the inequities and the assassinations and the corruption and the brutalities and the tranquilizers. It is the sense of impotence, the sense of being "denied, rejected, and ignored" by the world, the feeling of being manipulated, of having nothing to say.

This, I think, is what we as educators have particularly to see. Seeing, we have to choose ourselves with respect to what is happening. We have to choose ourselves as educators, aware of disenchantment, yet committed to humanizing within the world we know. "What matters," said William Arrowsmith a while ago, "is the integration of significant life and knowledge, of compassionate study and informed conduct. The teacher in this sense goes where the action is, where his example is most needed." [37] The teacher daring to go where the action is, as I see it, is the teacher daring to rebel.

Revolution or Rebellion

In my view, the alternatives *are* revolution and rebellion; and I have students as well as educators in mind when I speak this way. I am thinking of "revolution" in Herbert Marcuse's sense [38]—as an effort to overthrow existing power structures and to bring about, by force if necessary, a fundamental alteration of society. This, it is clear, is what quite a number of the disenchanted students have in mind. The alternative is more than simple moderation, certainly more than defense of the status quo. It is "rebellion" in Albert Camus's sense [39]—the rebellion he described as the impulse which drives an individual to the defense of a dignity common to all men; a continuing effort to secure a measure of freedom and a measure of justice for all; and a challenge to absolute principle, however derived. Such a view makes questionable the very notion of "system" or "establishment," abstractions which imply objective determinism. The focus here is on individual choice, on the individual's committing himself to the struggle for freedom and justice and meaning—but with a sense (perhaps a tragic sense) of limits, of *mésure*.

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[37] William Arrowsmith. "The Future of Teaching." *The Public Interest*, No. 6: 53-67; Winter 1967.

[38] Herbert Marcuse. "Repressive Tolerance." In: Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Herbert Marcuse. *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

[39] See: Albert Camus. *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956.

"Revolution," of course, is associated with certain modes of confrontation politics, or with the "politics of demonstration" which Amitai Etzioni says is going to be with us for many years.[40] We might identify it with the militancy expressed sometimes in sit-ins, sometimes in disruptions, sometimes in obstructions and the framing of "non-negotiable demands." Those who use such strategies (who consider themselves revolutionists) are, in any given institution, relatively few in number; but the consequences of what they do are often such as to affect and involve large numbers of the disenchanted and the bored—the apathetic, the vaguely unhappy, the alienated, the undecided. This has been bitterly and dramatically demonstrated whenever police are called to a campus, and a "bust" (or worse) takes place. I do not consider the upsurge of massive unrest to be the product of a "conspiracy," any more than did the Cox Commission which studied the Columbia University affair.[41]

Nor can I easily dispose of confrontation politics (much as I disagree with it as a personal option) across the board as some mode of infantilism, hysteria, nihilism, or a concatenation of neo-fascist rituals. I am far too conscious of the decency and intelligence of many of the Harvard, Brandeis, Berkeley, Chicago, and Columbia students who participated in confrontations, to do so. In fact, I think we are all aware by now that we make it too easy for ourselves when we identify "militancy" with the most hirsute, obscene, troubled youngsters we know.

Also, I think we have to recognize that, if it were not for the actions undertaken by the militants, some of the universities' worst abuses and neglects would never have been identified or allayed. It is important to note that the "good" results—those, for example, recently evidenced at Columbia—were not those the militants had in mind. This, of course, is one reason for the prevailing perplexity among students, and it is something with which we have to come to terms. As Diana Trilling advises,[42] we have to hold apparently opposite ideas in mind at the same time on certain occasions: to admit, say, that we needed disruption at Columbia in order to develop programs for restructuring—and, at the same time, deny the claims and challenge the "style" of the disrupters. It seems equally necessary occasionally to "distance" what is happening and permit our students to do the same. It is one thing to compare the disruptive few with the nihilists and anarchists of old, to place them, as it were, in history [43]; it is another thing to make sense of that history, to define some of the consequences of the anarchisms of the past.

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[40] Amitai Etzioni. "Protests Found Likely To Endure." *The New York Times* 118 (40,566): 60; February 16, 1969.

[41] Fact-Finding Commission on Columbia Disturbances. *Crisis at Columbia* (The Cox Commission Report). New York: Vintage Books, 1968.

[42] Diana Trilling. "On the Steps of Low Library: Liberalism and the Revolution of the Young." *Commentary* 46 (5): 29-55; November 1968.

This sort of distancing, this sort of "sense-making" may help to alleviate the fear which haunts so many people. Christopher Jencks and others have pointed to a failure of nerve, a loss of confidence among those in authority.[44] There is an insidious kind of anxiety in high places (college presidents' offices, for instance, or principals' offices) which is evidence of a basic uncertainty with respect to role and, often, the very nature of authority. And, among faculties on every level, there is another kind of uneasiness. Too many of us have begun to resemble the audiences in the *avant-garde* theatres, unsure of the standards prevailing there, fearful of not being "with it," often willing to sit still and be insulted or taunted from the stage rather than to demonstrate disagreement and walk out.

A Freedom of Choice for Us Adults

The only antidote I see is consciousness, full consciousness, the kind few of us have ever known. We need, first, to become conscious that we (mature, over-30 adults) can still choose what we will become and, most likely, what our schools and colleges will become, and that we will be held responsible for what we choose. Next, I think, we have to become more aware than we have been of our possibilities, our finite possibilities, and of our limitations as well. We have to understand what we cannot become; we have to be wary of vicarious identification with patterns of acting out forbidden to us all our lives. We have to engage ourselves with our own historical situations, with our own present moments. We have to choose ourselves, create ourselves as persons in terms of what exists.

We will never use our freedom nor recognize our responsibility if we simply take refuge in conventional values, appealing though these may be. Nor will we be able to continue creating ourselves if we consider ourselves already defined by our roles, fixed and completed in our becoming. We will simply stop becoming; we will become even more alienated from the young—and from ourselves—if we keep thinking, "Well, everyone knows we are on the side of the angels," if we take it for granted that (because we are educators, administrators, college professors) we live by certain commitments to rationality, humaneness, civility, integrity, and the rest.

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[43] Walter Laqueur. "Reflections on Youth Movements." *Commentary* 47 (6): 33-41; June 1969.

[44] Christopher Jencks. "Is It All Dr. Spock's Fault?" *The New York Times Magazine* 117 (40,216): 27+; March 3, 1968.

This complacency, this bland conviction of righteousness, this "bad faith,"[45] are what I want to refuse. They are too much like the state of being Albert Camus called "the plague."[46] You may recall that, in *The Plague*, to be plague-stricken meant, among other things, to be indifferent to human life, to treat others as statistics. In order to avoid infection by the plague, one had to be vigilant all the time; one had to exercise one's will. I feel the same way about our present situation. We have, I believe, to *will* our own awareness, to remember that—if we are to come more fully to ourselves—we must be conscious. If we stop, if we do not care, there will be fixity—or plague, or a kind of death; and then we will be of no use to our disenchanted young.

I am disturbed by the behavior of those intellectuals (many of them members of college faculties) whom Noam Chomsky describes as the "New Mandarins,"[47] because so many of them are men who have not thought through their historic situation nor their engagements with it, not even to the extent of confronting the services they perform for what is euphemistically called "defense." It seems to me that there are teachers, too, and supervisors who have been similarly blind to the consequences of what they "pragmatically" do. The skills of some have been used to strengthen hierarchical structures; the skills of others have been addressed to the support of the "single standard" of evaluation, of "tracking" procedures, of various kinds of hypocrisies. We look at such people, and we recognize the dangers of being seduced by whatever "system" prevails—without even realizing it. And this makes me feel, more sharply than ever, the necessity for "consciousness."

Albert Camus, in *The Myth of Sisyphus*, describes the kind of awakening which may come after a life spent in indifference and automatism:

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[45] See, for example: Jean-Paul Sartre. *Being and Nothingness*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. Part One.

[46] Albert Camus. *The Plague*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948.

[47] Noam Chomsky. *American Power and the New Mandarins*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

> It happens that the stage sets collapse. Rising, street car, four hours in the office or the factory, meal, street car, four hours of work, meal, and sleep, and Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday according to the same rhythm—this path is easily followed most of the time. But one day the "why" arises and everything begins in that weariness tinged with amazement. "Begins"—that is important. Weariness comes at the end of the acts of a mechanical life, but at the same time it inaugurates the impulse of consciousness. . . . In itself weariness has something sickening about it. Here, I must conclude that it is good. For everything begins with consciousness, and nothing is worth anything except through it.[48]

This may be taken to be a metaphorical description of the awakening that *sometimes* occurs after a life that has been blandly, blindly lived. I believe too many of us have lived that way; I believe the "Mandarins" Chomsky speaks of have too easily followed habitual paths. It seems to me that the very existence of militancy and unrest has caused the "why" to arise for many people in American education. I am much interested in that "why" and in arousing persons to the weariness which (paradoxically) makes it possible to see. And I remain committed to the belief that people can be aroused by teaching, and by intelligent supervision, by dialogue, by the word.

To accede to the mechanical life (even if it is the life replete with all the perquisites the university or the school system can offer) is to lack vigilance and reflectiveness as well. It is to refuse risk and the necessity for living forward. I am convinced that there are two alternatives for those of us living at this moment of history: to acquiesce in this fashion or to rebel in the name of not-yet-realized possibility, which the individual himself must define. It is possible, I think, to defy determinism and manipulativeness by developing the courage to be—and to choose; and I wish we could communicate this to the young.

Even as I say that, I have to admit that it is easier to prescribe such courage when one is in the position of doing what one wishes to do and is not intolerably constrained. There are multiple, altogether real constraints imposed by society, by school systems, by the university; and I try to remain aware enough of them to work

[48] Albert Camus. *The Myth of Sisyphus.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955. pp. 12-13.

against them when I can. But my consciousness of them does not prevent me from differing with the radicals who take a wholly determinist view. Following such philosophers as Herbert Marcuse,[49] they talk about manipulativeness and the impossibility of free existential choice in modern technological society. For Marcuse, to be a member of the establishment, or a moderate, or "liberal" individual is to be a one-dimensional man, corrupted in some manner, a victim of "false consciousness," with no possibility of becoming an authentic person through free, authentic action.

The young Marcusians, therefore, feel justified in speaking in a mood of impersonality and cold generality when they make their charges against those of us who claim we can still remain autonomous, "system" notwithstanding. Even those of us who thought we had good relations—warm, person-to-person connections—with certain students have been put "up against the wall." Claiming liberalism and the capacity for empathy, we are told that we are merely creatures of the "establishment," even in the nature of our defensive talk. We can challenge this, if we understand it, as we can challenge the conviction that through disruption, through disturbance of the customary, through noise, obscenity, guerrilla theatre, violence, and the rest, the militants necessarily arouse others to ask the "existential questions" they *must* ask if they are to be fully conscious and alive.

Violence and Anti-Democracy Are Unacceptable

The acceptance of violence as method disturbs me deeply, as any sort of violation does. I think we err in not talking more about violence, just as we have erred in not openly confronting student aggression in the classroom, in not recognizing its sources and symptoms, in not acting intelligently with respect to it. Perhaps if we looked more closely at the many violations which occur in our society, the many ways in which people (including our students) are permitted to feel hurt and powerless, we would understand *legitimate* anger better than we do—and even, perhaps, some kinds of violence. If we were able to break through some of the myths having to do with the innocence and reasonableness characterizing American experience, we might be able to develop some perspective on the role of violence in our culture. We might begin dealing with

[49] See: Marcuse, *op. cit.*, and his *One-Dimensional Man: A Study in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

it cognitively—sensitively; we might, in time, invent some alternatives for our students to choose. Certainly, if we did this kind of thinking, if we could encompass violence and aggression and paradox within our conceptual universes, we would not be quite so vulnerable to them, so wholly unprepared.

Similarly, if we were to develop perspective on some of the radical charges against freedom of speech and tolerance, we might be in a better position to deal with these. Herbert Marcuse, for instance, explicitly opposes tolerance, which he calls "repressive." [50] He—and the young people who follow him—believe that we are incapable of achieving autonomy in this society, that Americans are so manipulated and indoctrinated that "their answers to questions of true and false cannot be their own." The private space, the inner consciousness which exists apart from the public world, writes Marcuse, "has been invaded and whittled down by technological reality." The individual has been manipulated into total identification with society. Even the needs he experiences as his own are the products of his society: they are the needs of the system itself which have been imposed upon him. His consciousness is thus perverted and becomes "false." He is held captive by the liberties of some citizens to control mass media and to shape people's thinking by those means. Tolerance, therefore, serves the cause of oppression, particularly when it becomes tolerance of the "systematic moronization of children and adults alike by publicity and propaganda."

Uttering righteous charges, then, against the "plastic," the "manipulated" society in and out of the schools, the student rebel justifies undemocratic means of promoting the transformation of the majority: building takeovers, sit-ins, the shouting of obscenities, even strong-arm tactics. This is summed up (again, in Marcusian language) as "the withdrawal of tolerance of speech and assembly from certain groups," and the restoration of freedom of thought through new and rigid restrictions on teachings and practices in educational institutions—which, by the very methods usually considered innovative and humane, work to enclose the mind "within the established universe of discourse and behavior." [51]

This view, undemocratic as it is, has already spread to certain secondary schools; and it is important to confront its spread. There are, in fact, points at which Marcuse's (and the student rebels') views on manipulativeness and the "established universe" merge with such widely accepted orientations as Edgar Friedenberg's. All this is painful to confront. Many, rather than accept it, would prefer to see a "conspiracy" at work. Of course it is difficult to absorb the notion that gifted young Americans (gently reared, idealistic, humane) can seriously take issue with the democratic tradition. But, after all, if we consider that tradition as absolute, unquestionable, we are indeed presenting an "established universe"; and we had best look hard at ourselves. Only as we accept the challenge, can we work with our students to remake the curriculum in such a way that it offers possibilities—not for learning answers and inert ideas—but for framing questions, for discovering, for making sense of life.

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[50] See: Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," *op. cit.*

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-17.

The Hope—Endless Watch on Ourselves

Although I find no hope for it in Marcuse, I still believe that we have the capacity (if we are conscious, if we are concerned) to stimulate conceptualizing, "tacit knowing," yes, and feeling in our classrooms. We have only begun to find out what is involved in teaching persons to deliberate,[52] to order their own experiences, to make decisions of principle. Too many people, I know, accede to racism and inequity, to the extremes of poverty and affluence, to militarization and to war; but I refuse to attribute all of it to "totalitarian manipulation." Human beings do, I am convinced, have the capacity to fight the "plague" in themselves. Yet it takes, as Camus's character Tarrou says, a determination "to keep endless watch on ourselves."[53] For each person, integrity is a product "of the human will, of a vigilance that must never falter. The good man, the man who infects hardly anyone, is the man who has the fewest lapses of attention. . . ."

To move our students toward intelligent self-determination, we educators have, I think, to master this sort of vigilance. If we are attentive and fully aware, we can be far more effectual than the militantly intolerant minorities in arousing students to self-questioning. We can place ourselves into a position of challenge to the absoluteness of the militants' principles, for one thing. There is no reason to believe (if we remain rational) that the tyranny the disrupters introduce will contribute to the emergence of the free, non-repressive society they say they have in mind. There is some reason to believe that rebel-educators, newly committed and newly aware, can advance the cause of "liberation."

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[52] See: Joseph J. Schwab. *College Curriculum and Student Protest.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

[53] Camus, *The Plague, op. cit.*

In much of the revolutionary rhetoric, even that of the high school radicals, there is an explicit contempt for a variety of people classified as "others." These include trade unionists, members of the lower middle class, and (of course) liberals. Young Steven Kelman remarks on the snobbism of the activists, their hostility to "boobocracy," to most non-middle class whites, to "ignorant rednecks," to "longshoremen." [54] These "others," the young people seem to be saying, are always wrong—because they are manipulated, because they are "niggers." This seems to me to be a corrupting attitude and one we can deal with directly, once we come to terms with it. We too readily take it for granted that young Americans are somehow born with the ability to empathize with others, to grant respect to those with different opinions, to perceive the value of each person, no matter who he is.

Indeed, it may be that we ourselves have not clarified our own commitment to what may be the core of the democratic ethic. We also may be guilty of contempt of a sort for various kinds of people who do not share our views of life. We may demonstrate a barely disguised scorn for students we consider "stupid," "different," "incorrigible," or even "square." Engagement with a cause does not require contempt for the opponent, as many of our students seem to think. Yet, if one *has* been identified as enemy or obstacle, one cannot demand that young people pay one respect. We have to *win* respect; and I believe we have the capacity to do so if we are willing to become concerned as many of us have not been, to open ourselves to others, to take the risk of creating our values day by day—the risk of choosing ourselves.

It is not really hard to understand the disenchantment of our students. It is not even hard to understand their objections to the traditional teacher-student arrangements, their resentment of the authority which seems to inhere in the very presence of a person standing in front of a classroom and addressing people who, in their very willingness to sit and listen, are accepting inferior roles. We need to be as imaginative as we can about the protest, as empathetic as we can. And we need continually to concern ourselves with creating the kinds of conditions and learning situations in which students feel that we welcome choosing and involvement and making sense in an open world. To do this, we have to think about restoring to the young a sense of potency even as we try to communicate the values of competence, the excitement of patterning, of mindfulness. "In going underground," says the narrator in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*[55]: "I whipped it all except the mind, the *mind*. And the mind that has conceived a plan of living must never lose sight of the chaos against which that pattern was conceived." This is surely relevant for us now. Are not our students rebelling against their own "invisibility," as much as against injustice and brutality? Are they not rebelling against powerlessness and depersonalization? Can any pattern *be* significant if it does not take into account "the chaos against which (it) was conceived"?

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[54] Steven Kelman. "Beyond New Leftism." *Commentary* 47 (2): 67-71; February 1969.

I am interested in individuals—teachers, professors, administrators—becoming conscious of the dependence, the shame, the unhappiness which have become the lot of the gifted young, which have driven some to violent rebelliousness and others to a search for the shocking and the always new. Of course the youthful revolt is not entirely of our making; but consciousness on our part may help us fight off some of the passivity which helped it to emerge. Such consciousness may enable us to choose *not* to reinforce the impersonality of what the youngsters call the "system," not to permit the violence which is violation, not to cooperate with those who refuse to name what is happening in the crisis-ridden world.

Again, I want to set against mindlessness, acting out, obscenity, and revolution an image of the rebellion I find best expressed by Camus. I want to set against these forces the personal refusal to abide by injustice—or to accede to absolute claims. I want to set against them an idea of limitation and a belief in human solidarity. The slave, the student, the oppressed, once he claims absolute freedom (or the absolute right to disrupt and destroy) becomes master to some other slave, whose rights he violates. A claim to such freedom by a radical minority (even in the most appalling social circumstances), an insistence that the "other side" deserves no justice, must be understood—and challenged. *This is because absolute demands prepare the ground, in moments of despair and hopelessness, for nothing more than another system of oppression and new kinds of violation.*

I believe that, if we educators rebel in this fashion, the mass of students—the silent disenchanted—may discover that we are articulating some of their demands, that we are responsive to their needs. They also have been moved by Camus, when he makes it clear that

[55] Ralph Ellison. *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1952.

a rebel is "a man who says no," but whose refusal "does not imply a renunciation."[56] And then: "*He is also a man who says yes, as soon as he begins to think for himself.*" The "yes" he has in mind, the rebellion he has in mind, are undertaken in the name of justice and moderation and mastery. "Real mastery," he says, "consists of creating justice out of the prejudices of the time." And, at length: "Moderation, born of rebellion, can only live by rebellion. It is a perpetual conflict, continually created and mastered by the intelligence. It does not triumph either in the impossible or in the abyss. . . . Rebellion, the secular will not to surrender . . . is still today at the basis of the struggle. Origin of form, source of real life, it keeps us always erect in the savage formless movement of history."[57]

Let us see the whole spectrum of disenchantment and unrest; and then, as educators with a world to win, let us choose ourselves.

Selected Items of Discussion

Question: Do you view student unrest as a threat or promise?

Dr. Greene: It will become a threat or a promise depending upon what we do. In my talk I emphasized two groups of disenchanted youth—radical and moderate. I believe we should make a pitch for the moderate group; we can work with this group if we become alive and less conservative. I really do not believe we can dialogue with the radical group.

Question: Inasmuch as you are a specialist in the teaching of English, what do you teach your pre- and in-service teachers of English about things they can do in dealing with student unrest in their classes in English?

Dr. Greene: I believe we have not tried hard enough to understand what youth are saying today, nor have we placed what they are saying in historical perspective. Through literature and the visual arts, I have my students trace the development of the continuity which led to some of the modern art forms. Students have an opportunity to confront what some of the radical students are now saying when they discover that throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century there was a strong tendency of thought and feeling which is now finding expression in the rhetoric of the radicals. Many of these earlier writers were also rebelling against technology, industry, and urbanism.

[56] Camus, *The Rebel, op. cit.*, p. 19.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

A Perspective on Activism

SCOTT D. THOMSON

One of the major problems associated with student movements in our high schools today, according to Scott D. Thomson, is the "intimate involvement of the school campus with political and social forces whirling about the general community."

In his opinion the purpose of schools is to study, examine, and investigate rather than to act on local community or world affairs. Together with this freedom of inquiry within the schools, the educational leadership must also "provide channels to outside organizations for those students who want an active involvement in the promotion of causes in the broader community."

Dr. Thomson discusses briefly the various alienated student groups and highlights his central theme of the differentiation between student study versus action on issues. He then lists and discusses nine concrete suggestions for meaningful involvement of students in constructive ways within the schools.

Finally, he reminds educators of their supreme obligation to protect the freedom to teach and to learn. "If we lose the struggle for rational discourse in the schools, how will we maintain it in the larger society?"—RLH

FOR some time now the heat and clamor of the student protest movement have been striking the "school establishment" across the country. The mass media, ranging from local newspapers to national television, vividly detail the action. Sociologists and second-guessers alike list multitudes of reasons for the phenomenon. With such attention student activism, were it any ordinary mortal movement, would be by now immobilized beard-deep in a sea of words.

Yet the movement continues, at least temporarily, due to the mystique of youth, that extra-mortal dimension of vitality which youth possesses and which adults simultaneously tolerate and admire. So rhetoric, essay, edict, and research study still flow forth unrelentingly. Everyone has an opinion but few solutions are compatible.

If somehow we now could cleave to the heart of this problem about student activism, it would merit considerable notice . . . say a five-minute comment from Marshall McLuhan or at least a short article by Hugh Hefner. Perhaps this is asking too much. But we should make an effort. With some reliance upon collective experience, we must look beyond the crosscurrents of contemporary confusion to basic considerations. It is time to step back and get a broader overview of our present posture and the options for the immediate future. This is, then, in essence, a second generation essay on student activism, an attempt to gain a general perspective to guide us with particular problems.

The Varied Alienated Groups

We all know of at least four different alienated student groups: (a) the New Left activists, (b) the advocates of Black Power, (c) the hippies, and (d) the Third World Liberation Front. All make headlines but each is a unique group. The hippies are largely apolitical. They have dropped out, separating themselves from a society considered grossly competitive and hopelessly materialistic. Hippies are heavily involved with drugs, with mysticism, and with communal living. The movement is diminishing rapidly, perhaps due to the fashion world which appropriated, for middle-aged matrons, many trappings of hippyism.

The New Left activists, in contrast, are deeply committed to political action. They want change, the more radical desiring revolutionary change. They organize protests and engage heavily in political education. They tolerate hippies but scorn them as whimsical, not to be counted on for the tough in-fighting. Activists plan to reshape society by assaulting schools and gaining power. Hippies flee from power.

Another group, the advocates of Black Power, sometimes form alliances with the activists. However, most Black Power leaders are extremely cautious about white influence and will accept assistance only with skepticism. The Black Power students of high school age concentrate on specific issues of race, such as proposals for Afro-American curriculum, the hiring of black teachers and administrators, the purchase of black products, the display of black art. Black Power groups have tended to become increasingly demanding of "white institutions." Black initiative seems the order of the day. In the meantime, charges of racism against schools can best be handled by review committees consisting of parents, teachers, and students of both races to review charges of discrimination and to make recommendations to the principal. The principal alone, if he is white, will probably not be trusted and may find himself immobilized by impasse between black student and white student or black student and white teacher. The review or "Cool It" committee could handle complaints from everyone in the school community: students, teachers, secretaries, custodians, and parents.

The Third World Liberation Front, a relatively new group, resulted from a partnership of the more radical black and white students into a united front for "the rights of all oppressed peoples." Because they are almost exclusively political revolutionaries, this group's influence at the high school level may not develop . . . until next year!

Each movement enshrines its intellectual heroes. The New Left loves Sartre for his nihilistic view of existentialism, Ché Guevara for a consuming personal commitment to revolution against privilege, Herbert Marcuse for dissecting contemporary institutions, and Ho Chi Minh for embarrassing a computerized Pentagon. The black activists worship W. E. B. Du Bois for a prophetic insight into the condition of the black man in America; they revere Malcolm X for publicly challenging the superiority of whites; and they respect Stokely Carmichael for popularizing the movement. For the Third World people, Eldridge Cleaver and Mao Tse-tung are saints to save all non-whites everywhere. And of course our hippies are dedicated to Papa Pot and Mama Meth.

Always there has been and will be a generation gap, because, as Eric Sevareid points out, youth have a one-dimensional vision only, a view of the present as contrasted to the ideal, while adults have a three-dimensional vision gained by living in the past, by possessing broader views of the present, and also, together with youth, by seeing the ideal ahead. Nor does the generation gap alone cause student unrest. No one, and especially school personnel, is unmoved by the manifold problems which confront and surround our institutions.

What then makes the current problem of student unrest so different and so difficult? The answer can be found in two areas: (a) the peculiar nature of youth today as affected by historical forces, and (b) the opening up of schools beyond their essentially intellectual function to a direct and reciprocal contact with society and conflict.

Views of Today's Alienated Youth

One peculiar quality of today's alienated youth as contrasted to past generations is the *level* of hostility directed toward existing institutions. The distressing emotionalism found in the more radical activists probably arises, first, from an alienation against liberal ideals (research indicates that most activists have liberal-permissive parents), followed by a brief nihilism, and then, in a search for security, radicalism. This process results in commitment to a world unborn and, in actuality, unknown. That is why activists have such difficulties describing the society they desire. Their goal is some inversion of contemporary practice but specific definitions escape them. Note that the radical revolutionist's *point of departure* is his alienation from traditional democratic liberalism. The radical's belief that he possesses the foolproof antidote for the defects of liberalism obviously disassociates him from being the reformist liberal that he is seen as being by some commentators. The activist contempt for liberals as fuzzy-headed functionaries unsure of "Truth," and the activist obsession with gaining goals by all means at hand, including intimidation and force, illustrate his alienation not only from the routine institutions of democratic liberalism but also from its central political values as well.

As a result of this new level of alienation, some interesting traits occur in the personalities of activists, for instance, the disgust of the alienated with the social consequences of technology.

Activists feel that older generations have worshiped unabashedly the machine, ignoring consequences to man and nature. They feel technology must be tamed. They feel today's world to be dehumanized and destructive. They feel it will not long survive unless the course is changed.

A corollary of this attitude is the alienation of many activists from the future as they see it. Most are disinterested and unsuccessful in math and science. They are aware that an increasing prestige goes with success in technology; everything from cigarette ads to the federal budget attests to that. So they tend to feel threatened by a future in which their own personal worth could be questioned. They fear being surplus, discredited, and obsolete.

To aware, articulate youth, every defect in the fabric of life is clearly observable. Yet the dedication to finding solutions for these problems within democratic values is missing. Thus we have created a modern sophist, one who can ridicule with brilliance society's awkwardness in dealing with injustice, but who lacks a solution save one based on impatient force. We have developed the intellectual equivalent of the high-powered racing car to run on the back roads of life. So the activist makes his own freeways of protest because of an overriding obsession with goals. He replaces a commitment to democratic process with a commitment to self and to his personal concept of the future. And since process is the lifeblood of democracy, the implications are serious. The task for schools, then, clearly is to show that reform through a thorough understanding and a vigorous application of traditional democratic values to changing institutions is more constructive than revolution. This will require all the imaginative leadership and courage that teachers, administrators, and parents can muster.

Discussion or Action for Schools?

Now to the second main point in this overview of activism: the relationship of schools to community problems and especially the opening up of schools to become centers of overt action. This strikes to the heart of our present difficulties, these difficulties to a large degree being caused by an intimate involvement of the school campus with political and social forces whirling about the general community.

Obviously students should become involved in a discussion of crucial issues, the military draft for instance. Yet should students organize on campus as active proponents or opponents of this law with the objective of affecting politically this law? Obviously students should discuss and debate thoroughly the race question, environmental pollution, foreign policy, the adequacy of party primaries, the electoral college, and other pressing issues. But should not a delicate line exist between discussion on the one hand and action on the other? And should not this delicate line be placed between the school on the one hand and the community on the other? The purpose of a school is to study revolt, not to participate in revolt; to study social reforms, not to carry them out. The central objective of a school or a university is to study every possible question but to fight for only one cause, freedom of inquiry and openness of thought.

It seems that as educators our immediate task is clear. We must first find this fragile line between talking and doing, between ideas on the one hand and on the other hand action on community affairs. (Obviously we act on *school* affairs.) Then we must nurture this line into healthy vigor and explain its centrality to the community. Then finally, we must step forward and provide channels to outside organizations for those students who want an active involvement in the promotion of causes in the broader community, the actual working for any ideal ranging from tutoring the underprivileged to influencing foreign policy.

Schools cannot be separated from society, nor am I advocating such separation. And schools must be relevant. We do at school, to reinterpret Professor Counts, "Dare To Build a New Social Order" . . . but one of ideas, not of implementation. That is the job of the larger community, and a task with which schools cannot become involved and still maintain their special atmosphere of free thought, their security from political pressures, their contemplation devoid of immediate conflict, and their privilege of partial self-government by educational code.

Those zealots who want students to play at school all the games of the adult world, under the aegis of civil rights, simply do not understand the Pandora's box they are attempting so righteously to unlock. To assign to the school campus open programs of action could result in a disastrous sequence of events against reflective thought and would give opportunity for manipulating youth for any cause, "true and bold."

During a hearing last spring on student activism in Palo Alto, California, I was particularly struck by the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union. The local chapter of the ACLU argued that a broad and active involvement with society by students *at school* is essential to modern education. Yet, in reality, is political activism the safeguard of freedom, or is advocacy? Certainly the Red Guards of Mao Tse-tung are active. And, considering involvement, Hitler's youth groups were involved to the point of being glassy-eyed. What involvement were they denied? None. What freedom did they safeguard? None. Might not, therefore, the chief safeguard of the preservation of democracy be unfettered ideas and lively debate? And the best safeguards for free debate are schools where young people may explore ideas in the best possible intellectual environment, apart from emotionalism, activism, and intimidation.

One genius of American public education has been its freedom from political control. Remove the delicate line between thought and action, and you invite eventual control by partisan bodies. Then youth can be used more easily. And youth is an impressive political force—as history illustrates from the ancient Spartans to a very modern Mao.

Believing this, I also feel strongly that schools do have a direct responsibility, especially today, to help interested students to become involved with a full range of ideas at school and to become personally involved actively *out in the community* off the school campus. Each school should have a community counselor who works with community agencies to include political bodies, to make certain students have easy and immediate access to these groups. Each school should promote programs that will attract the activist student and afford him opportunities to release his energy into constructive rather than obstructive channels.

Specific Suggestions for Student Involvement

The central point is that the old ways are not good enough. Just talking and listening will not do the job: Today's student wants action. Traditional extracurricular programs will not suffice: Today's student wants social involvement. Benevolence will fall short: Today's student wants a piece of the power. Here are nine suggestions of how the school might take the initiative in involving students in constructive ways.

1. Student protesters invariably assert that the curriculum is irrelevant, that subjects have no meaning. To meet this criticism, why not schedule special days with student-planned curriculum? Let your student council take charge for a two- or three-hour period once a month. Have them set up a curriculum committee, composed in part of adult advisers, to scan proposed courses. Establish a student administrative committee to schedule classes.

The curriculum committee might print application forms so that any student or faculty member may easily propose a course. Offerings might include symposia on drugs or alcoholism, seminars on the stock market, guest speakers on the biological revolution, scuba diving in the swimming pool, a discussion of UFO's, or poetry reading. The only limit to the curriculum is the creativity of the students or the faculty members.

Only a few restrictions need be imposed: (a) Faculty members should be present at the classes. (b) No denominational, religious, or other prohibited instruction ought to be offered. (c) Commercial entertainment, such as popular films, ought to be restricted. (d) No four-letter words or similar examples of bad taste should be allowed.

Cubberley High School in Palo Alto, California, offered such a program in the spring of 1967 and again in 1968. The first year's program is fully described in the December 1967 issue of the NASSP *Bulletin*[1] in an article entitled "Idea Forum." The regular school day was telescoped into 30-minute periods and the balance of time was devoted to the Idea Forum. Other schools have sponsored similar programs and called them "Educational Fairs."

This approach not only gives students an opportunity to present classes, but also provides the sobering experience of managing a program and of *producing* relevancy rather than just grandly talking about it.

2. Students want involvement with community needs. What better way is there to accomplish this than by volunteer work? Most schools leave this to happenstance, but wiser schools plan for it. The New Trier High Schools in suburban Chicago employ a full-time coordinator of Volunteer Bureaus. Any student who wants to get involved with worthwhile community work can attach himself at school to one of over 30 volunteer working groups, all of which include other students. The range of opportunity includes tutoring, inner-city project work, hospital work, recreation assistance, helping the handicapped and aged, and performing special work as the need arises. No student at New Trier need feel uninvolved or unwanted.

3. The more politically-minded activists will want to "do their thing" against the "establishment." Mostly they will want to speak out to an audience about the "establishment's" alleged "hypocrisy" and "inhumanity." To accommodate this drive, provide an open microphone (restricted to students and teachers) once a week, at which time students are allowed to speak out on issues they think are important. Experience shows that the more angry student dominates the microphone at first, but that by the third or fourth session the silent majority begins to step forward and assert itself. The significance of this fact alone is well worth the risk. Naturally, profanity or appeals to subvert the law should not be tolerated, and any speaker who abuses the privilege should lose access to the microphone.

4. Many activists have no real understanding of the legal and

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[1] Peter Palches. "Idea Forum: An Experiment in Nonstructure." *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals* 51 (323): 12-21; December 1967.

financial structure of school systems. As a result, student activists often ignore the complex relationship among the board of education, superintendent, principal, and teachers. They should, therefore, be exposed to this relationship and the varied responsibilities of these people in such a way as to clarify their own place in the system as students. As an example, the Lake Oswego, Oregon, schools have initiated a program entitled "Telesis," which allows students the opportunity to elect board members and to manage the school system under authentic conditions. This means that students are forced to act within the restrictions of state law and of public opinion. In this way, the place, prerogatives, and limitations of each group associated with the school become clear.

5. Overnight retreats of students and adults can be most beneficial. Prolonged periods of discussion and a joint sharing of meals tend to reduce much superficial hostility. Professional roles—assumed for purposes of the school day—can be shed, differences of opinion stemming from generation or race can be grappled with, and more candid communication can be established. With this done, the issues central to student-faculty-administrator cooperation are more easily identifiable and programs to resolve conflict can then begin. This technique is unusually effective but should be employed on a 24-hour basis or longer.

6. Schools on a modular schedule are in a particularly advantageous position to devise programs that will obviate student protest. Mini-courses, lasting in duration from one week to a semester, can be developed for unscheduled time. Such courses could be proposed by students or faculty, approved by a student/faculty committee, and published on a weekly basis. This approach brings together students and teachers with similar interests—possibly ranging from mountain climbing to guitar playing—and allows an exploration of these interests until curiosity is satisfied. Since relevancy is the counterpoint of curiosity, involvement should be high. These courses would ordinarily be without credit or grades.

7. Student clubs might sponsor the appearance of controversial speakers without adverse public reaction *if* the principle of balance is maintained. Where hot political issues such as Vietnam or the draft are discussed, the school must require that a wide variety of viewpoints be presented; a panel discussion or debate is the most convenient vehicle for this. Schools must be firm in not allowing an activist group to propagandize on campus. Schools are educational institutions, dedicated to a fair consideration of all

viewpoints, not the propagation of one position by any one student or adult group. Schools, like the courts, should be nonpartisan. And since teachers are restricted from partisan political activity on campus, why then should students be allowed this privilege?

8. A rising interest in philosophy and in comparative religion should be honored by establishing classes in these subjects. Funded by the Carnegie Foundation and sponsored by the Central States College Association, 10 schools in the Midwest, to include Evanston Township High School, are currently teaching a semester course in philosophy. Now in its first year, the experiment appears to be successful, with enthusiastic and full classes, each enrolled from heterogeneous student populations. The experiment will very likely continue.

9. Finally, let us not forget the time-tested value of including students on various school committees, and this includes policy, curriculum, and PTA groups. Student advice is fresh and imaginative if not consistently profound.

A militant minority of students may remain untouched by these efforts. However, the vast majority of students will almost assuredly react positively. Most students will see that schools are open, changing institutions, that schools do want to be responsive, and that cooperation pays greater dividends than conflict. Students will also learn that the democratic process of proposing, discussing, and acting in concert with other groups will in the long run result in greater gains than will hostile confrontations. Perhaps they will also begin to see, through personal involvement with their community and by playing new roles within their own school, that the old classroom courses have suddenly gained a new relevancy.

Schools Are for Ideas

Schools and school principals may have little to do with the appearance of alienated activists. The home, the mass media, modern literature, affluence, and mobility are beyond our schoolmaster's rod. But educators are guilty of slipping into the position of sponsoring activism if they allow it on campus. Perhaps educators have lacked a rationale to combat the activist thrust. Perhaps, they may decide, "this one makes sense." Incidentally, demonstrations which in any way impede the school operation or the rights of individual students to attend classes I would consider to be action, not thought.

One final point. Schools are for ideas. The classroom and campus are accorded the special task in our society of nourishing intellectual growth. Schools are the custodians of a precious commodity, the fragile flask of academic freedom. Too much heat and pressure can pop the cork and shatter the container. Professor Charles Frankel of Columbia University writes that the supreme obligation of educators is to protect the freedom to teach and to learn. Teachers and administrators must, according to Frankel, be "intolerant of intolerance." The rules of civilization must be protected. If we lose the struggle for rational discourse in the schools, how will we maintain it in the larger society?

The Student Movement and School Reform

MARIO D. FANTINI

Unlike previous generations of students who have exhibited symptoms of rebelliousness, students of 1969 are not "getting over it," in the opinion of Mario Fantini. For, as Maxine Greene also stressed, the times are much different, and the nature and extent of dissent are much deeper and more fundamental in spirit and intent. Fantini supports Spender's point of view that the alienated student of today is trying to change values and consciousness. He is a revolutionary in spirit and action.

The school becomes the immediate target of this revolution, for it constitutes the community of the young. Moreover, the school, as a miniature of society, exhibits the same shams and distortions that the radical Left wants to uproot in the larger society.

Fantini sees great hope for basic educational reform in student movements of today. And basic changes in the program of education are, in his view, necessary. Our efforts at change in the past have been too narrow, attempting to reform the school by curriculum change without seeking a total transformation. The young generation is unique, and new kinds of schools must be established to serve this new body of students.

Drawing on a number of sources, Fantini presents some models and characteristics of these new schools, and describes several efforts now being made to develop different approaches to schooling.—JGS

ADOLESCENT rebellion has been tolerated, and even sanctioned, as a "normal" stage of human development. After all, "if you aren't a liberal when you're young, you have no heart, but if you aren't a middle-aged conservative, you have no head." "Idealist" and "dreamer" have been the timeless epithets for the young, and countless generations of parents have been amused and exasperated by their children's demands of the world. Parental frustration has been alleviated by the consensus of adult society: "Don't worry, all kids go through it, and yours will get over it!"

But these old rules are not working any more. The institutional and parental power base has been shaken by the sudden and volcanic force of the young. As recently as five years ago, an alienated youngster wondered what was wrong with *him* if he was uncomfortable with his environment. Now he knows his disaffection is shared by students all over the world, and that awareness nurtures his protest. Three out of five junior and senior high school principals in the United States report evidence of student activism.[1] *The New York Times* has designated a segment of the front page to summarize student uprisings. The major television networks leap frantically from campus to campus on the evening news broadcasts. Students were a primary force in the mobilization of the French, and in the Czechoslovak resistance to Soviet repression.

The international student presence is neither a historical fluke nor the unified instrument of a political conspiracy. Parental, administrative, and governmental threats may diminish the visibility of the student movement, but they will not obliterate its roots; bandaging an ugly sore camouflages an infection, but it does not provide a cure. And the student movement, like the proverbial sore which refuses to heal, is only a symptom of a profound and pervasive illness. The students of 1969, unlike their ancestors, are not "getting over it," for the boundaries of their dissent are beyond politics, beyond institutions, beyond generations:

> [Stephen] Spender . . . understands the cultural roots of student alienation, that they are trying to change values and consciousness rather than lay down a program and seize state power. He understands that they are trying to make *revolutionaries*, rather than make a *revolution*, that they are trying to make a "parallel world." . . . [one must] see the personalities, confrontations, and dreams of the young Left in larger than just its surface political dimensions.[2]

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[1] J. Lloyd Trump and Jane Hunt. *Report on a National Survey of Secondary School Principals on the Nature and Extent of Student Activism.* Washington, D.C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1969.

[2] Jack Newfield. "The Year of the Young Rebels." (Review of the book by Stephen Spender.) *The New York Times Book Review* 118 (40,650): 5; May 11, 1969. © 1969 by the New York Times Company. By permission.

The school, as the immediate community of the young, is the most vulnerable target for reform. The Lemberg Center for the Study of Civil Disorders at Brandeis University reported that between January and April of 1968, 44 percent of the disturbances in six riot-prone cities involved schools—a threefold increase in one year. Recently the National Association of Secondary School Principals released a report based on a national survey of secondary school principals regarding the nature and extent of student activism. In this study nearly three out of five principals reported some form of active protest in their schools—whether junior or senior high, whether urban, suburban, or rural.[3] The prevalent outrage against the sham of contemporary America is intensified toward the miniature society of the school. The appropriate instrument of a democratic system is a democratic school, yet we manifest diseased distortions of each. America's naïveté has begun to catch up with her; department stores are bombed despite civil rights legislation, heavy policing has not diminished the crime rate, and efficient schools have not produced a generation of patriots.

The age of expediency has nurtured an era of desperation, and the educator finds himself at an unprecedented crossroads. The first course, the more traditional and natural one, is to defend the existing institution by repressing its challengers. The less comfortable alternative is to utilize the energies of the "opposition" in an effort to redefine the school within the context of the principles of democracy.

Our frantic attempts at educational reform have been obstructed by a narrowness of purpose. We have concentrated on one educational component (for example, curriculum), and then waited breathlessly for a total transformation. If a scientist were to suggest modifying a Boeing-707 for space travel, he would be exiled from the laboratory. Yet the recent activity in educational research and development has involved a similar "tinkering" with the available mechanism. Just as a jet is simply not going to take us to the moon, so the present school is incapable of providing education.

The student movement offers a tremendous impetus and infinite resource for educational reform in the United States. Through the objectives and energies of American youngsters, we can and *must* construct a new institutional foundation. First, I will establish those cultural circumstances which make this generation unique, then examine the common and disparate qualities of American student groups, and, finally, describe our institutional obligations in view of those qualities. The angry voices of the young do not merely deserve new coverage. They also deserve responsible and responsive action.

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[3] Trump and Hunt, *op. cit.*

Youth in a New Cultural Setting

Today's young people comprise the first generation weaned by the mass media. The effects of watching the world in the living room are now becoming manifest. In a recent psychological study, selected small children clearly demonstrated the horrifying aspect of television's impact. When told of death or illness in the family, these children immediately asked if their relatives had been assassinated. The ever-present television screen exposes even a three-year-old to the brutalities, realities, and fantasies of the world!

The adolescent easily perceives that thing which grown-ups call "the real world" as a chaotic phenomenon. Were it not for TV, today's youngster might consider his sense of isolation temporary:

> It's hard to remember sometimes that television is machinery—bits of equipment, consoles, cables, lenses, little hack boxes—and that when you turn it on one day (most days, in fact) and get *The Flying Nun,* you think of it as junk, as if the junk were somehow built into the equipment, and that when you turn it on another day and get, say, Dean Rusk and the gang down at the Foreign Relations Committee, or Bobby Kennedy announcing his reassessment, you think—well, what do you think! *The Flying Nun* is interrupting Dean Rusk? Dean Rusk is interrupting *The Flying Nun*? This country seems to include both, in some mysterious, lunatic balance, and television includes both, too, although commercial television has generally managed to push the balance so far out of whack that the country is barely recognizable to itself most of the time.[4]

In addition to parading America's paradoxes, the whole realm of technology desensitizes the student to the bland stimuli in the classroom. Today's youngster is bombarded by strobe light shows, electrical guitar shrieks, pop culture, special effects movies, ad infinitum. His threshold for sensory stimulation has been elevated immeasurably; the same music which delights and relaxes him, appalls and unnerves his parents. The clinical and uninspired classroom cannot compel the attention of today's young Americans.

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[4] Michael J. Arlen. *The Living Room War: Writings About Television.* New York: The Viking Press, 1969. p. 190.

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The wonder is not so much that the young people "tune out," but that they even "tune in."

Contemporary students have acquired a certain level of sophistication through technological development. On the one hand, this worldliness expands the youngster's scope, but, on the other, it accelerates anxiety. Today's student, aware of the game which the world is playing, is in a position of choice. He can withdraw from the game entirely, play along with the rules of the kingdom until he is in a position to say that the emperor wears no clothes, or challenge the game itself. The "hippie" movement indicates the enormous appeal of withdrawal. At its original, most sophisticated moments, hippiedom sought to construct a social and economic alternative to the normative middle class game. Presuming that the values of Americana and happiness were mutually exclusive, the hippies adopted antithetical criteria in fringe communities. The three-piece suit became a haphazard costume, the studied coiffure was replaced by masses of curls, and the flower chased the dollar sign.

The hippie founders were not the 14-year-old runaways of Time-Life fame, but very serious young people longing for the promises of 18th century America The hippies' staggering popularity has served to confirm their suspicions. Love beads and long hair are not accidental fashion trends; they are tacit nods of understanding toward the hippie movement.

If "dropping out" were an East Village peculiarity, the social import of the hippies would be minimal. However, evidence of drug use is not confined to the flower child's commune. *The New York Times* recently disclosed that 85 percent of the Columbia University undergraduate population has smoked marijuana at least once. Apparently marijuana is no longer the novocain of the poor but a fashionable, generally accepted pastime of the American middle class. Though heroin is still predominantly confined to impoverished neighborhoods, LSD is considered an elite intellectual adventure. The whole vocabulary attached to narcotics is based on the notion of mental seclusion: Timothy Leary's slogan, "tune in, turn on, drop out," "tripping out" on LSD, getting "high," "stoned," "wrecked," "destroyed" on marijuana, etc. The concept built into this extravagant use of drugs is the erasure of the "artificial" and complex considerations of society, and the substitution of the "real" world of the human mind.

"Dropping out" is frequently connected with professional decisions. The arts have never been more attractive to the politically conscious young, and the arts have rarely been more politically conscious. The Brontë sisters would be laughed off today's college lectern. The New Left demands political commitment from 20th century artists, and the Living Theatre, pop art, the films of Jean-Luc Godard fulfill that demand. Collections of modern poetry are steeped in Vietnam, racial discrimination, and international politics. One need not look beyond the recent National Book Awards for literary examples: Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*,[5] Norman Mailer's *The Armies of the Night*.[6] Many young people feel they can vent their political dissatisfaction as movie critics, directors, playwrights, etc., without risking the moral corruption of the political and economic system. Others deem the possibilities of social change too remote to waste time manipulating the variables and prefer the more constant criteria of the arts.

The great majority of young people neither drop out nor challenge the system, but simply ride along with the institutional tides. This route, of course, is the safest and most accepted; dropouts and rebels invite censure. Some of this group are no doubt unaware that there is a game at all, but many fulfill society's expectations cynically. They intend to stand inconspicuously in the crowd until they are close enough to the emperor to expose his foolishness. These youngsters become Peace Corps volunteers, the politely persistent junior senators, the adamant young members of the Legal Aid Society. Their compliance with the system is often misinterpreted as proof that the system is viable. The young people who play the game do not disprove the presence of the game itself.

The Students' Movements

The public challengers of the schools not only represent an outspoken minority, but articulate the feelings of many less tenacious, yet similarly disaffected, young people. The so-called "student movement" does not present a unified program, for as Spender so perceptively indicates, the root of the uprising is beyond the realm of politics. All students are responding to their visions of themselves as victims—victims of an institution and a society-at-large which have repeatedly and undeniably refused to recognize them. Even the most disparate splinter groups are expressing common, and essentially emotional, grievances. All students, regardless of specific affiliations, want to be *seen;* they want to be acknowledged as thinking, feeling human beings. Second, they want to participate in the process of their education. How very obvious it seems—look, if this school is supposed to be for *me,* then let me tell you how I feel about it. Finally, students want their curriculum to be applicable to their individual lives—culturally, politically, socially, and personally. The cry for "relevance" is also painfully self-evident; who wants to study something he can't "relate" to? All three of these demands, though they have political translations like "democracy" and "freedom," stem from the most fundamental human needs, needs which the school has persisted in ignoring.

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[5] Jonathan Kozol. *Death at an Early Age*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967.

[6] Norman Mailer. *The Armies of the Night*. New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1968.

Because the student has been an anonymous face for so long, his desire to assert himself is now exaggerated. If one has been declared impotent, his exuberance in affirming his own power can lead him to point a machine gun at the dean, or destroy a private file, or paralyze the operation of an institution. The idea of recognition does not seem preposterous within the existing school system, yet consider the realities. The high school functions on a principle of adjustment: you will adjust, or you will suffer the consequences. The student is recognized *only* when he deviates from the norm, either negatively or positively. He is summoned to the principal's office if he cuts class, talks back to a teacher, is found in the hall without a pass. His chances of being summoned are slightly less if he excels academically, supports the policies of the school, or breaks up a fight in the gym. The undistinguished C student, however, graduates without ever having crossed the threshold of the principal's office.

The student is punished or rewarded according to his ability to adjust. If he cannot tell the difference between a predicate nominative and a predicate adjective, it is *his* fault—not the teacher's, or the book's, or the school's. Therefore, the D on the report card absolves the institution of responsibility, and the child is left to his own devices. The existing school, therefore, recognizes only its "idea" of what a student ought to be. He ought to be obedient, competent, and efficient, for these are the most expedient criteria for adult society. In perpetuating this notion of adaptation, the school denies itself the theoretical justification for an educational institution, the development of human potential. The existing school provides no mechanism for adjusting to the needs of the child, and, insofar as the school aims at preserving a smooth, unruffled operation, the student has to be a secondary consideration.

Need for Recognition

The concept of recognition—on an extremely personal level—is a theme for much of the student movement. Revolting against the societal tradition of judging an individual according to his extrinsic qualities, today's youngsters are interested only in intrinsic worth. They scorn definitions of people which deal with wealth, status, grade level, size of house, or number of television sets. Their language, like much of their behavior, is the language of confrontation. They admire those who talk "straight," those who seem to be authentic; credentials convince them of nothing. The student's value system has ousted society's normative psychology in favor of the individual's energy and growth; he is as interested in "becoming" as they are in "being," and he seeks environments which allow for individual development. An environment which maximizes a student's potential could never "fail" anyone.

The student's plea for participation in the classroom and the school community is not operational in the existing institution. Educational decision making is the business of the professional; he draws on his own experience, available information, and state requirements to design his school's academic and social framework. The professional, himself, is limited by restrictions which he cannot control; he is subject to a board of education, the judgment of his peer group, and the state government. It has been proposed in the United States Congress that the federal government deny financial subsidy to any school which tolerates student disturbances. The educational administrator is frequently powerless himself, but he participates in the professional hierarchy which deprives the student of an active voice in planning curriculum and establishing social rules in the school community. The student's voice is not only inaudible, but extraneous in the existing institution. The student is a mute subject in the kingdom of the professional, and the student is well aware of this.

Rejection of a Stale Curriculum

Aside from the student's subjection to social anachronisms, he is also plagued by a stale curriculum. He is the recipient of a worn-out "line," a line which contradicts all his social experience. Built into contemporary curricula are the concepts of individuality ("How come I can't be *me* in school?"), virtue ("If I always told the truth I'd always be in detention."), American infallibility ("Why do Europeans hate the war in Vietnam?"), equal opportunity ("How come the maid is black?"), ad infinitum. Though he may acquire some general and ultimately helpful information in the process, the American public school student is fed a banquet of absolutes for a cafeteria of uncertainties.

Apart from the jolting discrepancy between the platitudes of the textbook and the realities of the world, the teacher rarely allows the world into the classroom. Little course content deals honestly (if at all) with the local community surrounding the school or with the community at large. The student may acquire the primitive tools of language, science, and mathematics, but he has no instruments for social action. He is not only deprived of a realistic view of the status quo, but is ignorant of the available or potential mechanisms for change.

The traditional underpinnings of American education do not provide those learning experiences which prepare people to be productive members of society.

The students' demands of their schools are as pragmatic as the American dream. They want to be prepared as future workers, with multiple options for professional achievement. It is interesting to note that vocational schools report fewer incidents of student unrest than their academic counterparts. They want to be provided with the tools for reconstructing the society which requires change. They want to be familiarized with the intricate workings of their society, a familiarity which requires *more* than the cherry tree saga or memorizing the Bill of Rights; they would also like to know about themselves as social creatures, to achieve a modicum of self-awareness through the interaction of the classroom. In short, today's students want a school in which they can learn.

These rather general descriptions of the student movement constitute the demands which transcend the specific stipulations of the various groups. It would be foolishly simplistic to imply that all young people have produced this single outline at an organized conference in the Midwest. Much of campus unrest is the result of intra-student dissension. The Students for a Democratic Society, the Students for Afro-American Studies, the Students for a Restructured University, are but a few splinter groups which run through the headlines, not to mention the hordes of students who are not officially affiliated, but who rally when circumstances are appropriate. The two significant factions of the contemporary student movement seem to be the white middle class and the black young people.

Need To Be a Person

White middle class youngsters are the disenchanted products of "things." They know, through firsthand experience, that those who demand their success are preparing them to be consumers, rather than people, and they also know that they want something more. Their fight against injustice is usually a vicarious one, for they are rarely victims of inequity themselves. Their parents have provided them with comfort, yet they crave the sensations of struggle. For them, the struggle is emotional and intellectual, not physical. They are frequently outraged by the complacency of their communities, and fight against falling into a similar trap. Many are exhilarated by the revolutionary game, for it provides them with the risks and rewards which suburban monotony has taken away.

This is not to minimize the sincerity of the white middle class youngster, for his complaints have no less urgency than those of his peers. His urgency, as a matter of fact, is often greater because of the vagueness of his ultimate aims. In the sterile, tree-lined, country club atmosphere, he longs for identity:

> The white students . . . had a problem of identity which they resolved first by being students, secondly, more emphatically by being rebellious students. . . . The neurosis of the white student is the fear that they have no identity, the passionate search to find one. . . ." [7]

Within the white middle class student movement are individuals who will go to various lengths to assert themselves. Thus, one side consists of a veto group which will go to any length, and whose demands are so outrageous that even they do not expect to be successful. These desperate youngsters often malign the honesty and intelligence of their more responsible peers, and eventually diminish their effectiveness. Those whose demands are preposterous and nonnegotiable may serve to initiate viable student protests, but fail miserably when they stand autonomously. The 1969 fiasco at Columbia University illustrates the susceptibility of the Students for a Democratic Society when it overstepped the bounds of reason; whereas most of the undergraduate population joined in the 1968 uprising, members of Students for a Democratic Society meekly cleared an administration building this spring, when they could not muster general student support.

The black students' movement has translated the students'

[7] Stephen Spender. *The Year of the Young Rebels*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1969. Chapter 1.

general grievances into more specific terms. The quest for recognition becomes a plea for racial identity—a forthright, unrestrained awareness of color. The Negro is overwhelmingly aware of America's injustice, and he has achieved a plateau of historical consciousness which allows him to assess his oppression. Black students, cognizant of the instruments of oppression, have established a racial context which includes a new set of heroes and revised criteria for beauty, and they demand an institutional acknowledgment of these changes. Note for example, the expressed purpose of the Freedom School in Washington, D.C.:

> What we understand by education is the obtainment and application of all one's knowledge for the benefit of the group which in turn will benefit each individual within the collective. To this end what must constitute the basic part of one's education is the understanding of people more than things. We realize that when people understand themselves, their knowledge of things is facilitated, that the exclusive knowledge of things does not guarantee knowledge of people, and in fact contributes to the erosion, disintegration, and destruction of the creativity of man.
>
> Therefore our Freedom School must: (a) make Black People aware of who they are, (b) make Black People aware of who they must identify with, (c) enlighten Black People to the creative and scientific tools that are needed in order to obtain whatever we want to mean as freedom.[8]

They, too, want to participate in their educational destiny, and the ubiquitous cry for black studies (Afro-American history, black poetry and painting, sociological courses on the American ghetto, etc.) is a particular way of vocalizing the need for potency through relevant curriculum. They want more black professionals; white teachers cannot possibly have appropriate expectations of black children. In describing the black students, Spender notes the following:

> Their behavior was maturer (perhaps because they accepted the advice of older people) and less neurotic than that of the improvising white students. . . . The black students, opposite here as in other respects, had a problem of losing their identity through segregation. Their identity is, of course, immensely real, in some ways the most real thing in America. . . . So if the neurosis of the white students is the fear that they have no identity, the passionate search to find one, that of the blacks is the fear that they will lose theirs, and beyond this the fear of actual extinction.[9]

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[8] Freedom School. *The Modern Strivers.* Washington, D.C.: Eastern High School Freedom Annex, Inc. Brochure.

[9] Spender, *op. cit.*

The youthful forces for institutional reform lack the cohesion which precludes optimal success. The black students often exclude the middle class whites from their activities, and the whites can neither comprehend nor adopt the focus of the black movement. The parents of black students are not only supportive, but frequently provocative regarding their children's protests. These adults have been victimized by societal inadequacies as well, and refuse to pass on a legacy of futility. They openly attack the schools, doubt the authority figures which represent institutions, and scorn those educational methods which have deprived their children of the tools of learning. These parents have been betrayed by the "democratic process," and want better things for their children. The adult fall guys of "the American nightmare" are as enraged as their offspring.

Need for Relevance and a New Model of Education

Among the middle and upper classes, parents are not nearly so sympathetic toward the student upsurgence. These adults, after all, "made it" according to the system's terms. Many of them surpassed the modest economic backgrounds of childhood, and view their children's challenge as ingratitude. For most Americans (and most people, in point of fact) that which exists is good by necessity —a normative value system. If it works, and if it has worked for generations, how bad can it be? Many Americans between the ages of 40 and 60 consider skepticism a flimsy indulgence; they had no time for intellectual exercises while they accumulated the wealth which has given their families security and comfort. They speak and think the language of the depression, of World War II, of breadlines and blackouts. They blame themselves for coddling their children, and bemoan the "insurrection." Having grown up in precarious times, many middle class parents prefer safety to justice, quiet to peace, and conformity to virtue. They are stunned by those who demand much more.

Notions of "the polite society," "the learned man," and "the joys of scholasticism" are whimsical vestiges in the United States. Perpetuating them in a 20th century school has contributed to the institution's demise. Education in an urban culture is not a luxury, but a necessity. Effective education must aim to produce a generation equipped to live with and control the elements of its environment.

Our schools are clinging to the nostalgic modes of an agricultural America, an America which has since been replaced by an entirely different ecological network. Students, no less than communities, in our urban ghettos are challenging the standard "model" of education; a model which was forged in another century, as Ira Gordon indicates:

Newtonian Model Man	*Einsteinian Model Man*
A mechanistic, fixed, closed system, characterized by:	An open-energy, self-organizing system, characterized by:
1. Fixed intelligence	1. Modifiable intelligence
2. Development as an orderly unfolding	2. Development as modifiable in both rate and sequence
3. Potential as fixed, although indeterminable	3. Potential as creatable through transaction with environment
4. A telephone-switchboard brain	4. A computer brain
5. Steam-engine driven motor	5. A nuclear power-plant energy system
6. Homeostatic regulator (drive-reduction)	6. Inertial guidance and self-regulatory feedback-motivation system
7. Inactive until engine is stoked	7. Continuously active.[10]

The Reformation of Our Schools

The students are offering possible and invaluable contours for reforming the educational institution. They want to be potent adults—people who are capable of turning the United States into a participatory democracy. The schools, as an instrument for social change, can provide the first step toward achieving that larger end. We have a responsibility to give them the tools for social action, and can, simultaneously, create a healthy institution in the process.[11]

The best way to learn about the democratic system is to participate in one. Yes, the students ought to have a voice in defining school policy, for they, presumably, are the very reason why the school exists at all. Students are clients, and the school's purpose is to serve them. They, along with the faculty and administration, can establish and preserve a composite idea of the classroom and the social complexion of the institution. The school seeks to foster the growth of a child, and a child grows through participation. The major thrust of the student movement consists of learning through doing, that the intellect is significant insofar as it helps us act.

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[10] Ira J. Gordon. "Task of the Teacher." *Studying the Child in the School.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966. pp. 2-3.

[11] Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968.

There is a fundamental difference between academic freedom and education. It is lovely to be uncensored in one's conversation, but chatter does not change things. The modern school must be *more* than talk, more than subject matter mastery. In a remarkable document issued by the Montgomery County Student Alliance, these points are made quite clear [12]:

> Some of the county school system's announced goals are being met. County students on the whole are equipped with certain skills and facts, and test scores and grades show that the school system has by and large prepared them for college. . . .
>
> The most significant effect of this emphasis on measurable, "acceptable" performance has been to subordinate greatly other basic goals of a desirable educational climate—goals which are less tangible but which, we feel and the county school system says (rhetorically) it agrees, are of far greater and more lasting importance. It is these latter goals that have, practically speaking, been almost totally ignored by the county school system and the way it operates. Feedback to see whether these much more vital aims are being fulfilled has just not been sought by school officials; to our knowledge the county schools have shown little willingness to confront these questions and bring about the fundamental changes in attitude and organization that are necessary. . . .
>
> It is becoming almost a cliché to say that the public schools are not relevant, yet very little positive action has been taken to do anything about it. Every student has things that interest him; but the sad fact is that the school system very rarely gives him an opportunity to explore these interests. In many cases the student is actually hindered by the pressures and restrictions of the school system. There is no provision for giving students the chance to explore different areas of interest and follow wherever this exploration may lead them. . . .
>
> Very importantly, the individual student himself, what he feels, his concerns are ignored. How does he fit into all this? What is important to him? What does this mean to him and his life? These questions do not fit into the school system's equation. Assisted by experience and efficiency, the county public schools' operational equation seems simple: raw material (students) plus conditioning (classes, teachers, textbooks, discipline) equals products (graduates equipped to fill the necessary slots in society). The complexities of the individual, developing mind

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[12] Montgomery County Student Alliance. "Wanted: A Humane Education. An Urgent Call for Reconciliation Between Rhetoric and Reality." A Study Report on the Montgomery County Public School System. February 11, 1969. P.O. Box 30204, Bethesda, Maryland.

are passed over; the system is "successful," and, we are told, is among the best in the nation. . . .

Instead of the system's being built around the needs of the students, the students are being built around the needs of the system.

By acting out their opinions and feelings, students constantly test their own theories. The demand for relevance in the area of curriculum must consist of a similar interplay between thought and action. Work in the community can be just as accredited as a term paper, and course discussions must have something to do with the students' immediate and projected concerns. The school does not have to go beyond its students' present and future reality to develop a humanistic learning environment. Group encounter sessions, exchange programs with African countries are possibilities in a school which serves its students.

Reformed educational institutions, therefore, will have to alter at least three basic pillars:

1. *Governance*—There must be a shift from professional dominance to a meaningful parental and community role in the education process. Meaningful participation stands arm's length between professionally circumscribed participation on one hand and total control by students, parents, and community residents on the other. It calls for student, parent, and community roles in the matters of budgeting, personnel, and curriculum. The vehicle of participation may be structures at the individual school level or elected bodies on a neighborhood basis. In either case, one of the chief criteria is proximity of educational decision makers to the affected schools. The chief political criterion is *accountability* of the professional and the school system to the students and community.

2. *Substance*—There must be an evolution to a humanistically-oriented curriculum and a modification of the skill-performance standard by which educational quality is primarily measured. The heavy emphasis on cognitive subject matter must be at least tempered with materials that bear some relevance to the students' lives and with newer kinds of content and procedures that help ghetto students answer deep personal concerns and often rediscover their own integrity. Curriculum that represents an alien, boring, and false culture must be abandoned (ghetto children *can* be well-educated without being robbed of their own subculture). Evaluative criteria, in particular, must be expanded to include ways of judging student abilities other than by the notoriously middle class-weighted verbal means.

3. *Personnel*—The educational system must be opened to a far broader base of talent than the conventionally prepared career educator. The staffs of schools must vary along a wide horizontal spectrum from the professional to the layman, the latter including parents, community residents, and students themselves. They must vary vertically as well, to include not only professional educators but also specialists from other disciplines and professions. Moreover, the training of teachers must be vis-à-vis and *in* the reality of community needs and expressions.

Moreover, there are other key bench marks differentiating the traditional from the reformed educational institutions (See Table 1 [13]).

A viable school must also satisfy the following criteria:

1. Social reality and the school's curriculum have to be intrinsically connected.
   a. The school must acknowledge the realities by setting up a structure in which students are engaged in the examination of these realities.
   b. Students will learn the skills and behaviors needed to influence social realities.
   c. The skills and behaviors for social change will be applied by the students to the social realities.
2. Power, identity, and connectedness have to become a legitimized basis for curriculum development with the aim of expanding the repertoire of responses students have in dealing with these concerns.
3. Diversity, both cultural and individual, and its potential for cross-fertilization has to be encouraged and expanded through educational objectives and organization that allow and legitimize such an aim.
4. The school and the community it serves have to exist less as separate entities and instead develop responsibilities and lines of authority that are more integrated and shared.[14]

The final bell rings at Eastern High School in Washington's Northeast ghetto (in the shadow of the Capitol dome, as editorial writers used to say), and a half-dozen students cross busy Maryland Avenue headed for a nearby Lutheran Church. Through a side alley, up a flight of iron

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[13] Mario D. Fantini. "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems." In: Harry M. Levin, editor. *Community Control of Schools.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970. p. 46.

[14] Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. *Making Urban Schools Work: Social Realities and the Urban School.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968. pp. 24-25.

Distinguishing feature	*Traditional system*	*Reformed system*
Center of control	Professional monopoly	The public (the community)
Role of parents' organizations	To interpret the school to the community, for public relations	To participate as active agents in matters substantive to the educational process
Bureaucracy	Centralized authority, limiting flexibility and initiative to the professional at the individual school level	Decentralized decision making allowing for maximum local lay and professional initiative and flexibility, with central authority concentrating on technical assistance, long-range planning, and system-wide coordination
Educational objectives	Emphasis on grade-level performance, basic skills, cognitive achievement	Emphasis on both cognitive and affective development; humanistically oriented objectives; for example, identity, connectedness, powerlessness
Test of professional efficiency and promotion	Emphasis on grade-level and systematized skills, cognitive achievement	Emphasis on performance with students and with parent-community participants
Institutional philosophy	Negative self-fulfilling prophecy, student failure blamed on learner and his background	Positive self-fulfilling prophecy—no student failures, only program failures; accountable to learner and community
Basic learning unit	Classroom, credentialized teacher, school building	The community, various agents as teachers, including other students and paraprofessionals.

Table 1. Characteristics of Traditional and Reformed School Systems

> outdoor stairs, and into a room littered with paper, they move, eventually settling down in some wooden folding chairs around a rickety table. . . .[15]
>
> Freedom Annex in Washington, D.C., is a different kind of high school. It has no grades, no desks for teachers, no bells to attend classes. The students choose the teachers and set the curriculum. They attend only if they choose, and they create hardly any disciplinary problems. Any that arise are handled by students, not teachers. Freedom Annex is, in fact, the first accredited student-run high school in the U.S. . . .
>
> Freedom Annex now has a curriculum that many college black-studies departments would envy. Twelve salaried and accredited teachers offer 85 students courses in black history, Swahili, black literature, black art and drama, and community organization. Students spend half their day at Eastern High in the study of math and sciences, half at the Annex. Though the Annex gives no grades, just pass-fail ratings, the high school gives full credit for Annex classes, and Eastern's Principal William S. backs the student-run school enthusiastically. He is particularly impressed by the lack of disciplinary problems. "If all the students at Eastern High School brought me the kind of problems the students at the Annex do," says Mr. S., "my job would be a breeze and a source of continual challenge and excitement. . . ." [16]

The Freedom Annex functionally illustrates the benefits in utilizing the students' energies in a positive way. These 85 youngsters are acting out their emotional concerns, not by occupying the principal's office, or ransacking a storeroom, but through the constructive and productive means of education. By providing an arena for options, the Annex has achieved a stability which few schools can approach. Where there is no basis for frustration, there is no reason for violence.

These young people are also involved in a curriculum which commands their immediate interest. They are learning about themselves and, simultaneously, acquiring the tools for learning about others. Through their student-directed, student-governed school they are establishing the social and academic confidence necessary for future mobility.

The Street Academies of the Greater New York Urban League implement the principle of community involvement in their mission of rescuing dropouts in ghetto areas. Mr. Harvey Oostdyk has overseen the contact of approximately 4,000 youths out of storefronts in Harlem. This contact is initiated by the students themselves, or

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[15] David Elsila. "A Student-Run Accredited School: D.C. Strivers Create Their Own Thing." *American Teacher* 53 (3): 12; November 1968.

[16] "High Schools: Letting the Students Run Things." *Time* 92 (25): 47-48; December 20, 1968. Copyright Time Inc. 1968.

"indigenous street workers," as they are called at the academies. Thus, the program perpetuates itself; prospective academy members trust the neighborhood figures who recruit them, and the former dropouts maintain a position at the school. The Street Academies have been so successful that ten former dropouts had been accepted at reputable colleges across the country at the time that the Ford Foundation offered its first grant to the project.

At the Parkway School in Philadelphia (popularly called The School Without Walls) the students and faculty air their concerns through a town meeting session each week. Through such a mechanism students are able to deal with such substantive issues as curriculum and personnel matters.

The student movement, like all historical movements, is vulnerable to drastic change. I have selected the purest strains of the youthful rebellion for the purpose of discussing educational reform, and, at the present time, student criticisms and institutional inadequacies seem very close indeed. What a shame it would be to waste that proximity; yet we persist in polarizing the student and the school. Every time the police invade an institution of learning, we solidify the students. We also lead the institution further and further away from a healthy redefinition.

How often the students are criticized for their totalitarian tactics, their unwillingness to negotiate, their narrowness of purpose. In many ways, unfortunately, they have been bountifully trained; immediate suspension for cutting class on a clear autumn day, don't question my decision! and, now, using police to restore order in a playground. We, too, have been narrow, as well as antiquated in our purpose. If you read on grade level, punch your IBM answer sheet, and keep silent in class, you will succeed.

The student is a symptom, and the school is a glaring sore of the societal infection which threatens to erupt instantaneously. Allowing the student into the educational process may be the first remedy of a long cure.

Selected Items of Discussion

Question: I would like to inform the audience of an educational program known as Harlem Prep. Harlem Prep is an organization of private individuals who formed a private school in New York City. They hired black and white teachers who could not qualify as public school teachers because they did not have the correct credentials. The students were volunteers who had dropped out of school. This past year, 16 of the Prep graduates were accepted in the better Northeastern colleges. What are the implications of this success in reference to public schools?

Dr. Fantini: In a search for alternatives to existing educational programs, it is appealing to go to private schools, such as Harlem Prep, Street Academies, and other parallel institutions, where we do not have to put up with all the restraints in our public institutions. Financing of private institutions is a problem. When the fiscal aspects are worked out, as has been done in some instances, I believe we will see more of this type of parallel schools, unless something happens to public schools, which are our major option now.

Question: I am worried about the criteria we will use to evaluate the success of the alternative school systems which are being set up. I do not think we can evaluate their success or failure in terms of traditional criteria, such as the number of graduates entering colleges or their mean scores on reading achievement tests. I am not convinced this is the rationale for these schools. If they can survive and are able to govern themselves, then they are an absolute and utter success as far as I am concerned.

Dr. Fantini: I would say that, if there has been a transfer of power in organizing and running these schools, there has been a gain. The important thing is much more than a mere shift of power. The important thing is that the students, parents, and communities are saying that they want control so that they can make the educational program more relevant and responsible and join *with* the professionals in remaking the educational program. Unfortunately, those watching these experimental programs will use as their criterion of success, "What difference does it make to the traditional objectives of the school?" There will be tremendous pressure to evaluate these programs in terms of grade level achievement in a relatively short time.

Question: Do you feel that professional educational organizations are responsive to the kinds of questions that you are raising?

Dr. Fantini: Those who are really sincere about what is happening to society and education will have to work out means for reorienting professionals that are more than just talking. They must get at the level of interaction. They must interpret what may happen—collision or cooperation? This will mean a new type of leadership. If, and when, collisions take place, I hope they can become laboratories of education in which we all can learn.

Some Hunches of a Revolutionary

Fred T. Wilhelms

Fred Wilhelms, who speaks with great insight and on the basis of long experience in varied kinds of curriculum planning, demands that the activists accept him also as a member of the revolutionary forces. His credentials, at least for members of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, are impeccable, and, after reading this statement, even the most violent of the young revolutionaries will surely welcome him as a philosopher of the educational reform movement.

Although acknowledging that his proposals are not the entire solution to the demands of the disenchanted, he lays out the broad outlines of the kinds of reforms needed in the curriculum of the secondary school. His plea for a new program of education in the area of the humanities, and his broad sketches of what such a program ought to be like, should result in the appointment of new curriculum committees in school systems throughout the country and subsequent action to develop such programs.

Similarly, the broad outlines of curriculum reform are presented for the other three streams of Dr. Wilhelms' plan—social studies, vocational preparation, and science-mathematics. These projections excite the imagination of curriculum workers.

And, as he points out, curriculum reforms of these kinds will enable the schools to maximize the potentialities of each student. —JGS

FOR a long time now we have been quoting H. G. Wells, "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." More and more I want to make that, "Civilization is a race between *us* and catastrophe."

And the catastrophe is by no means exclusively the anarchy which might result from multiple rebellions, although that obviously holds great dangers. The catastrophe that scares me at least equally is the possible *failure* of the revolution.

I am often haunted by Toynbee's image of a culture which has climbed its way up a steep cliff and now finds itself on a ledge with another high ledge just above it. The question is always open whether the culture will get the energy somehow to make that next ledge, or whether it will only lie down and rest. If the genuine adaptation which we have to achieve does not succeed in a fairly short time, we may face a failure which could come in either or both of two ways. One possibility is that the people who have been fighting for the adaptation may lose their nerve and their energy, and revert into apathy. There is no more guarantee that this energetic generation of allies that we suddenly have, these young people fighting so hard for a better civilization, will still be with us in ten years than there was ten years ago that the silent, cool, withdrawn generation would go on being that way.

Second, the adaptation we have to have may fail if enough people in the power structure get sufficiently scared and antagonistic to lay down a program of organized repression, moving more and more to a kind of police state. That is a genuine danger, too. It is a mistake to think that the only danger we face is the danger of anarchy. The extremes of "order" are a danger, too. And so is the possibility of achieving no essential adaptation. For me the question remains open whether that adaptation can be made at all, but especially whether it can be made in time.

A Longtime Revolutionary

If you do not mind my being a little personal, I want to tell you that I consider myself a revolutionary. I realize that sounds unlikely on the face of it. You might say that I am too old, too rural, too dignified, too middle class.

I certainly am over 30—twice; I am a child of the prairies, and what I remember of political action by my relatives and neighbors consisted of letters to the editor or the congressmen from Nebraska. If I were ever to get up the nerve to walk in a picket line I think the folks back home would disown me.

I am also the Executive Secretary of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, an organization which can hardly be called revolutionary. Liberal, yes. ASCD, among all the educational organizations, has possibly the most honorable record to date on questions of race, disadvantageousness, and similar matters and is currently involving more and more energy, time, and money in earnestly seeking to gear curriculum to an appreciative consideration of the minority groups of our culture. But we work through channels and our influence makes itself felt slowly, too slowly sometimes.

Another thing about me that does not fit the picture of a revolutionary is that I am definitely middle class—upper-middle class. I am unrepentant about that; as a matter of fact, I have been struggling all my life to get there. I do not want to impose middle class values on other groups. But I think we carry a pretty heavy load in this society, we are a valuable element in it, and I refuse to apologize for the middle class.

I call myself a liberal, almost a classic textbook liberal. Of course, it is stylish today to repudiate the liberals. Liberalism is a bad word. I do not blame the blacks or young people if they feel somewhat bitterly that people like me have done too little and have left them to fight a lone battle. And yet I wonder where else except from us have come the decency, the concern, and the openness which made it possible to conceive of this struggle in the first place and now make it possible for the struggle to continue.

Finally, I am not convinced that the situation we are in is so bad. I would suggest that some fairly sticky realities have been run through the eggbeater of anguished rhetoric and that we have got a considerable head of foam on the dialogue. I do not refer to injustice nor to morality; I am talking about the outraged cry against our industrial economy. I know it has its problems. But I for one do not feel dehumanized by computers. And I applaud and admire the technical and material gains which industry has made. The fault is not in these advances but in the fact that they are not used for all the people on an equitable basis. I would propose that we strive for *more* technical and material gains and use them to correct the anomalies of aching want in the midst of great wealth.

So then, being so "square," how can I consider myself a revolutionary? For one thing, I believe in this revolution. It is not a pleasant thing, but we need one. Some of us have known that for a long time. I have had revolution in my heart for years. Nothing that I have heard the young rebels saying recently about the irrelevance of the curriculum has yet equaled the withering scorn I have felt during at least the past quarter of a century whenever I have had to watch a civics teacher dithering around about how old a man has to be before he can be a senator, or presenting a shallow, lifeless view of the Bill of Rights—and never getting within shouting distance of the realities of our society. Nothing that I have yet heard the young rebels say about the irrelevance of our curriculum has come close to matching the anger and disgust I have felt as I have watched English teachers carry on their annual dissection of *Silas Marner* and the poetry of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and William Cullen Bryant. I think it is a travesty that we should have put up for generations with what has become a stereotyped joke—the joke of the prissy lady teaching poetry in a sentimental, sickly way, often using about the worst stuff in our literature. That we should have been willing to tolerate that joke proves to me that we do not know what power literature and the arts have for humanity.

Nothing that the young rebels have said in recent years about the inhumaneness of the schools has yet exceeded the wrath with which I seethed, for example, in 1948-49 when I was supervising teachers in a large metropolitan system and daily had to watch the callousness of that system and some of its teachers toward nice little kids, and daily watch those kids shrink and shrivel. People like us have long been fighting this battle for genuine engagement of education in the life of our times and for a person-centered humanity in our schools. But we have not been very successful in overcoming the apathy or the practices of elitism, or in counteracting misconceptions of the purposes of education. Perhaps we lack cleverness in our efforts; we may be guilty of the charge we now throw so gaily at the young people—of not having an adequate substitute program to suggest.

Be that as it may, now suddenly we have allies, especially in the young group, but in the adult group, too. I welcome them wholeheartedly. I am glad they are joining us and I propose that we join them. You, like me, must have a lot of uncertainties about how we ought to go forward from here, but out of the welter of uncertainties about the situation we are in, one thing stands clear to me: this young generation of ours (while its members may be nuisances at times, and while some of their behavior by our standards may be bizarre) is in a quest for something finer than we have ever had. Young people do not quite conceptualize what that something is, but they are not going to settle for what we have had. Right or wrong, many of them do not accept either the old social standards or the old religion. And they have nerve. And idealism. They need help, and they deserve it. And I propose that we join them in that quest, wholeheartedly, without reservation, and help all we can.

As we try that, the first thing to see is that we are not helpless.

We have a lot of weapons in our armamentarium, a lot of resources; we are not helpless at all. If David could walk into that fight of his with just five smooth stones, we can walk confidently into this one with our ammunition.

The Target of This Revolutionary—The Curriculum

It is those resources I want to talk about now. What I am going to say is not the whole answer to the problem. I do not mean to ignore or minimize the things we have been talking about. There are many lines in which we must fight: the endless battle for more money for schools; the politics of centralization in some parts of the country and of decentralization in other parts of the country; the whole question of organization; the use of media. These and many other fronts are important. Yet, I think we often use some of these issues as an evasive gesture, to avoid the central job.

Ultimately we must concern ourselves with the curriculum, not with some courses thrown in at the edges as a kind of sop, but with the basic curriculum itself. The logic behind this is simple and common sense: that is where the school and the young people meet; if we want to help a young human being in his development, we are not going to do it somewhere else on some special day. We are only going to do it in the long, dusty process while he is in his algebra class or wherever he actually is.

For simplicity in proposing to you some basic curriculum reforms, I should like to think of the six-year program of the junior and senior high school in terms of four basic streams: vocational education, the science-mathematics stream (recognizing some difference between the two components, yet relating them basically to the technology), the social studies stream, and the humanities stream.

Let me ask you to make a practical check: if each of those broad streams in our curriculum had been fulfilling in the past 30 years the goals and objectives that you privately think it could and should deliver, how much of a problem would student unrest still be in our schools? Then, why don't we tackle each stream and make it into what we want? We frustrate ourselves by talking about fixing the whole school all at once, or changing the whole curriculum at one time; the whole curriculum does not hang together that well.

I would like to suggest a model for working on any one of these four streams. I suggest that you form an "area committee" in your school, on, say, social studies. We shall, of course, wish to involve lay persons and students, but let us think first of the faculty. Not more than about 45 percent of that area committee should come from the field of specialization under consideration. A little more than half ought to come from faculty members in other fields. This committee will be looking at the whole sweep of the social studies program for the six years of junior and senior high school. They are not to be concerned with the course of studies for the ninth grade, but to think of the six-year program as a whole.

Their first job will be to shuck off the stereotypes that have accumulated, including the traditional sequence. It is time we realized that in most of these fields (the sole exception *may* be science-math) there is almost nothing to lose. We have a sterile social studies, a sterile vocational education, a sterile English program, all of which have been rank failures; so we have plenty of reason to start from scratch, to start bare-handed, with no prior commitments to any body of subject matter at all. I know there will be some legal requirements around the edges and college entrance requirements will have to be reckoned with, but those things will take care of themselves when we really get to them. The committee's real job is to figure out in gutsy terms a few basic purposes we want the social studies program to accomplish.

Social Studies

To start with, assume that we want the social studies to make people into good citizens, and then look realistically at what a good citizen is like. I think we will discover that a good citizen is not about 98 percent conformity and nice-Nellyism, but that he is often the toughest questioner and dissenter in the crowd. Whatever we found out about the traits of citizenship, we could then hammer out little by little a sense of purpose that students and teachers and the lay community would genuinely believe in, and begin to plan some kind of organization of the field and imaginatively and deliberately to gather materials—a procedure that we do not ordinarily follow in curriculum planning. We act as if we should start with *materials to teach;* what we need is *materials to teach with!* The purpose in a literature program is not to teach a body of literature; it is *to use literature to do something for human beings.*

In a six-year period of schooling teachers have a huge amount of time. Assume that you have about a quarter of the school day for six years, and that you have a set of purposes. Then you begin by saying, "What could we do during that time that would make sense in terms of what we want to do for the youngsters?"

Vocational Preparation

Suppose one of these area committees is concerned with the field of vocational preparation. Long ago our predecessors had the insight to realize that you could not talk vocational competency into existence; you had to have shops and laboratories. But then we got stuck with those shops and they determined what constituted vocational preparation in the schools. For years we have been teaching sets of skills which are often unrealistic and which become obsolete so fast it makes us look silly.

So we need new insights. Certainly one is that the community is a better shop for most purposes than anything we could have in our schools. Another basic premise must be that real success in a vocation is highly dependent on trained intelligence in problem solving. And that it is a matter of genuine, open, effective communication, and being able to work comfortably with other people. Success in one's vocation is also a matter of being able to swing with change very rapidly because change is going to keep on happening very rapidly. These are skimpy ideas about vocational education. But certainly we all know in our hearts that it is much more important that the elementary school and the junior high school succeed in revealing to the pupil the possibilities of the life he could lead vocationally, getting him excited about himself and getting him energized about his future, than how well we teach him to handle a lathe when he is in senior high school. We need a kind of vocational Higher Horizons program that would be exciting, using all of the imagination and confidence-building opportunities we have at our command.

Science

Let us switch to the sciences. Here again we saw long ago that there must be laboratories. You could not do the job in science by just lecture-discussion. But it was only a few years ago that we began to realize that instruction should start in the laboratory and stay in the laboratory. And precious few schools have yet accommodated themselves to that new approach to the sciences. We were accustomed to studying the chapter on life and then going into the laboratory and running through some workbook exercise to "prove" the chapter. I wonder if we got mousetrapped on another thing, too? Was it, perhaps, the schools that let the idea get abroad that science is amoral, that it has no moral responsibility in our society? Don't we need a science program which discovers life purpose as well as life processes? Isn't that just as legitimate a function of a science teacher as teaching youngsters how to bend glass without breaking it?

Social Studies, Again

Let me go back to the social studies. Oddly enough, having long since decided that in home economics, vocational education, science, and physical education, we could not do the job by lecture-discussion but had to have a laboratory of some sort, in the social studies we have never been that discerning. If social studies mean anything they must connect with the community somehow. I don't know why we have been so slow about this. A social studies program that is worth its name must use the community laboratory. Once we make that basic decision, we will find so many things to do.

In San Francisco about 12 years ago, I was serving simultaneously on two committees. One conducted a Community Chest survey of the day care available in the community. We found that only about a third of the known demand was being met. We needed day care centers desperately. The other was a student committee of the San Francisco Youth Association which was earnestly trying to find outlets for adolescent energy. They would have been delighted to staff child care centers. We never could find enough jobs for them—not even unpaid, volunteer jobs.

Right now our adolescents are unquestionably, in my mind, the best source of energy to mount an early childhood education program that would go well beyond the model of Operation Head Start. These young people, under some supervision from a home economist, a nurse, a nutritionist, a psychologist, and other specialists, could do a far better job than has been done so far. They would be making a terrific contribution, they would be earning some money, they would be learning how to handle their own youngsters when they have them five or six years from now. We have all kinds of outlets for youth in our communities.

This is not the whole story in the social studies; I do not want to abandon the scholarly disciplines. In a recent conference, we saw a group from Southern California working on ways of teaching the Bill of Rights. They started with a short film in which the police do certain things with a dope addict and his friends; then they stopped the film every once in a while and raised questions as to what constitutes a violation of rights. Under what conditions would you let a policeman come into your house? Try sometime to think your way through to a good statement of how citizens should be protected *against* their own government and yet be protected *by* it too. This is truly a difficult thing to do. That kind of social studies material is beginning to pop up from all around. The project called "Man: A Course of Study" (Education Development Center) seems to me to be one of the most inspiring things that has ever been done. We do not have to settle for anemic, boring social studies programs.

Humanities

I would like to concentrate on the field that happens to be my pet—the burgeoning, very young field of the unified humanities. Several thousand high schools around the country have developed the beginnings of such programs in the past five or six years. Generally speaking, this is only a one-year course with a pitifully small conception of a humanities program. Obviously, it ought to be a six-year program. (Really, the elementary school ought to be engaged and so should the college.)

Again, suppose you had a fourth of the school time for six years to devote to a unified humanities program, and you had a real vision of what you were trying to do. This is the part of the school day when you are going to help youngsters—not just *let* youngsters, but *help* youngsters—come to grips with their own personal values, with their own sense of the significance of life, with their own personal worries.

You are going to use whatever will help them in this search. Obviously you will use literature, the arts, music, as they fit. Just as obviously, you are going to use psychology and the other behavioral sciences. The program will require a team. I think you are going to have to have a kind of laboratory; better, it would be a suite of laboratories. Think what you could do if you had a library setting, a room or a series of rooms where books were in prominence, all kinds of them. The *New York Times Book Review* (if that was appropriate to your group) would be there and the *Saturday Review*. Reviews of the latest play on Broadway that would depict it as a happening noted with excitement. You would have the finest recordings of all kinds of music for use on the best stereo equipment.

You would have, either in transparencies or in those wonderful paper prints that you can get so easily from galleries now, the best art of all time, including the modern. We brag a lot about the fact that 90 percent of all the scientists who ever lived are alive today. We do not seem to be as aware that a lot of the best poetry and the best music that have ever been composed were composed by people who are alive now.

We could have all these resources. We could have an atmosphere in that room or suite of rooms that would be as different from the typical dried-up English class as that English class is different from the physical education class out on the playground—an entirely different mode, a totally different way of life. I would like the humanities period to be a tranquil time when youngsters could read whatever interested them. We would have to put on one whale of a treasure hunt to find things that would be meaningful to students with different kinds of backgrounds and different reading abilities. We have gone way off the track in insisting that boys and girls should not read anything in school except the great things and then interpreting "great" to mean *Silas Marner*. With the cooperation of the youngsters, if we really settled down to it, we could find things. Audiences of educators, teachers especially, always seem to go into a special hush if I use the example of *Catcher in the Rye*. Each generation of youngsters seems to discover it by themselves. There is a kind of built-in validity about that book. If we don't have guts enough to use that kind of material we might as well go out of business, because we are going to have to use things much farther out than that to guide youngsters to the joy and excitement of books, music, and painting.

The question of where a boy or girl is *now* is given undue prominence. The danger is not aiming too high over his head; the real danger is arrested development. If we get him on the track, get him reading a lot, get him excited about ideas, get him looking to art as a personal resource, we do not need to worry. He will come through to a full and rich adulthood.

I would build into this humanities program a very extensive use, not only of psychology, but of other behavioral sciences such as cultural anthropology. I want these youngsters to have time and knowledge enough to sit around and talk about not only their personal values but also the values of their culture. And I don't know that there is any better way to do it than to give them fascinating glimpses of a variety of cultures, to externalize a bit, to look at the values of this group and that group, to see the differences, and by this process to be able to perceive and examine our own cultural hang-ups in a calm and civilized way. I want to get the vision of some very sophisticated psychologists into the act. I want to build into this six-year program a sensitivity-training program which would make the popular $500 program that industry is so eager to use for its junior grade executives look like peanuts. You could move into such a program slowly, very tenderly, without any prying or pushing or bruising—moving as kids get ready for it in various stages over a six-year period. You could develop in a high school graduate a sensitivity to other human beings that no generation has ever even dreamed of before our time.

And we could do the same thing with writing and speech. We now have a clumsy, sterile composition program, self-defeating, geared to a kind of sanitary correctness. I have hired many of the products (fired most of them later)—people who freeze up in front of a piece of paper, freeze up in front of a microphone, who can't think on their feet, who haven't the slightest idea, really, of communication. This is not surprising, considering that they have been taught over a twelve-year period that it doesn't matter much what you say, and that it doesn't matter at all why you felt like wanting to say it; that what matters is to put it into proper form and proper grammar. In the context of what I have been talking about, it would be easy, with much use of the arts and music and sensitivity training, to develop boys and girls who had a real flair for communicating out of the center of themselves into the center of you. A lot of young people today have this wonderful instinct, the yen of the flower children to get right from me to you without anything between us. The traditional composition program as it now stands is the worst thing that could happen to them in that respect. I guess you think I am exaggerating, but I have made about half my life's living writing and editing. I know what I'm talking about: we are killing communicators.

Reprise—The Revolution

I want to get back to my basic idea. If you and I want to help this great adaptation which we must have in our society to help solve the problems that are represented by racism, all kinds of social inequities, bad social morality, and the like, the way to do it is to get right down to cases in our curriculum, and start overhauling it to see what we can do with real kids and with real situations. Our resources are simply inexhaustible.

I am well aware that while this is technically a very possible thing to do, it is politically very hard to upset the apathy of about two million teachers hacking their way through textbooks that they somehow come to equate with the curriculum. It will take a terrific leadership job.

But in a larger view, all of this makes no sense, is not worth doing, the revolution is not worth starting in the first place, unless we all come to see that human potential, the potential of the ordinary little adolescent, is so much greater than anybody before our generation had ever dreamed, that these possibilities simply stagger the mind. We should not have had to wait for the scientists to find this out. There have been times in history when suddenly by some set of circumstances people become dramatically bigger and better. Why is that? I believe that if we probe our powers of reason and insight as to why it happened in Athens in the fifth century before Christ, why it happened in Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, why it happened in Elizabethan England, why it happened on our frontier, we will see that in every instance there was some combination of factors that caused a sudden access of freedom and self-responsibility. All the rest of the world through the whole history of mankind has been a supine, whining mass because they didn't have that measure of freedom and responsibility. How can we, in good conscience, keep our adolescents fettered because of all the limitations of our lack of imagination and our lack of trust in their abilities, and then wonder why they do not rise to their potential?

Human Potential

If this gestalt view of history does not convince you, let me add this: If you will read the accumulating literature from psychology and the related sciences on the potential of the human being you will be astounded.[1] The intellectual capacity of an ordinary person is so much greater than anything we have succeeded in tapping that probably the possible increase of the IQ is not less than 40 points. That is tc say that whatever the innate brain-cellular capacity is, a youngster's intelligence probably goes lower or higher by at least 40 points depending on the kind of life experience he has. The greatest scholar in this field, for my money, J. McVicker Hunt of the University of Illinois, is willing to say publicly that, knowing what we now know, in one generation we could step up the general level of the IQ by 30 points. The techniques are well known.

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[1] Editor's note: See J. McVicker Hunt's *The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty: Papers on the Role of Early Education.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969; also Wilhelms' own study (with Patricia Waller), "The Education of the Intellect," in the National Association of Secondary School Principals *Bulletin* 53 (336): 3-89; April 1969.

Most importantly (but not exclusively), we should concentrate on early childhood education. It is very shortsighted to seize on some preliminary evidence that where substantial gains in IQ have been made through an Operation Head Start program these gains tend to "wash out" in two or three years, and that therefore it really is not worth doing because a while later you cannot tell the difference. That is like saying "Yes, an internal combustion engine is a fine thing, and that automobile you are trying to sell me is a nice one, but it really is not worth having because you have to put gasoline in it every once in a while." We are acting as if, having discovered how to get a tremendous cognitive push in three- and four-years-olds, we are then obligated to follow this by a period of deprivation which will cancel their gains.

We do not have quantitative measurements for other—possibly more important—variables in a human being, but if you evaluate for a given trait there is impressive evidence. And if we did have a "personality quotient" to match the IQ, marked increase might be easier to get than in the field of intelligence.

When you come right down to it, in terms of the revolution we are talking about, I do not know of anything that is going to be more difficult for all of us than to catch and keep this sense of the wonder and magnificence of human capabilities. There is nothing more malleable in the whole world of nature than a youngster. There is nothing in God's creation which has so much potential for becoming higher and wider and brighter. And only this vision makes the revolution worthwhile.

Selected Items of Discussion

Question: Is the use of the concept of IQ justifiable at all, since it is so variable?

Dr. Wilhelms: IQ measures only a very small part of intelligence and probably doesn't measure that very validly. There is one reason to pay some attention to IQ: it is a rather valid predictor of what a youngster can do in school in the immediately ensuing period. The danger is that you accept that measure as evidence of what he can do in school and in everything else the rest of his life.

Question: In your introduction, you said, "Things aren't all that bad." Could you indicate in what ways you think things really are bad?

Dr. Wilhelms: The worst thing in our society is the racist injustice to the black, but not only to the black, but also to the Indian, the Spanish American, and, I think, somewhat more generally, toward the poor people.

Another priority on my personal scale is the absolute stupidity of keeping people poor and keeping people hungry. I think a nation like ours with its superabundance of food that lets any child go to bed at night hungry, ought to have a very guilty conscience. This is something we could solve in six months if we got mad enough about it.

What the Schools Can Do About Student Unrest

CARROLL F. JOHNSON

Carroll Johnson speaks of the dual responsibility of faculty members: (a) to develop strategies for dealing with acute problems of conflict and confrontation; and (b) to attend to the chronic problem of conflict prevention "which begins in the earliest school years."

His suggestions are based on sound theory, and his illustrations are real. The reader will recognize that Johnson represents some different points of view from those expressed in Scott Thomson's paper. Nevertheless, the ideas from the two papers will in most cases be found to be complementary and equally useful.—RLH

A LOOK at the agenda for this meeting quickly reveals something about *us* as well as about *students*. We have tried to decide what it is that bugs kids and to define strategies for resolving conflict among kids, and between us and the kids. Then we will examine the community's response to restless youth.

I would like to pose the question: What bugs *us*? Now, let's respond in unison: *kids!*

That is right—kids. No longer are we autocrats at our own breakfast tables, or in our classrooms and offices. The kids are bugging us. And not just the natural troublemakers—if there is such a thing as a *natural* troublemaker. The brightest, most promising students in our high schools, even in our junior high schools, are restless and fractious. They wear their hair too long and their skirts too short; they flock to a peace festival at Woodstock, New York, by the two hundred thousand, to dance in the rain and send up clouds of marijuana smoke. They complain, complain, complain.

The curriculum is not relevant, the teacher is prejudiced, the principal is a dunderhead, student government is "mickey mouse," and the school newspaper is the censored house organ of a totalitarian establishment.

To make matters worse, they have succeeded in dividing our communities. Half the taxpayers want to know why we don't do something about those kids. The other half wants to know why the kids don't do something about us. And so it goes.

Well, what do we do? Refer the problem to the social studies committee? I think not. I think we must view it as a total curriculum problem, defining curriculum as everything we do and say to Johnny from the day he enters prekindergarten until the day he finishes twelfth grade.

We must devise effective strategies for coping with conflict and confrontation—that is, for putting out brush fires—but concurrently we must be engaged in the kind of conflict prevention which begins in the earliest school years. The short range and long range approaches are inseparable; they are equally imperative.

Moreover, the entire—I repeat, *entire*—faculty must be intimately and continuously involved in developing both approaches. For we need to revise not only some of our subject areas but, more important, our perspective of and our attitudes toward the educational process.

For the past 20 years we have had all we could do to meet the challenge of Sputnik, find enough buildings to house the post-World War II baby boom, and provide a curriculum which would enable our students to hold their own in an ever-intensifying college entrance competition.

For 20 years we have, in other words, been preoccupied with devising an assembly line educational process which would disseminate the greatest amount of information to the largest number of students, in an age when there were too many students and too few teachers.

Out of this struggle to cope with overwhelming enrollments has come much that is valuable. Yet we have been forced to concentrate too narrowly on subject matter, largely ignoring the momentous social forces at work in the world around us. And we have had too little time to perceive and cherish and foster the growth of the individual personality, in all its intricate facets.

A feeling of frustration and desperation, a conviction that there is no other recourse, is common among youthful activists, black or white. I believe we have some listening to do. I believe we have somehow to remove the assembly line from our schools and find a way to put education back on an individual basis. We must replace the adversary relationship between faculty and student by creating in our schools a community of scholars, adult and young, who learn from each other and enjoy the experience. Moreover, we must find ways to individualize instruction without employing the kind of rigid differentiation which stereotypes students, freezing them into an academic caste system at an early age.

These are the kinds of things, of course, which every good teacher has always tried to do. But life has become too complicated, the educational task of the schools too heavy, for such objectives to be realized unilaterally, in the compartmentalized classroom.

A Long Range Approach

The long range approach to revision must be the undertaking of the whole faculty. Some school systems—I think of White Plains, New York, particularly—are organizing themselves so as to tap the full resources of the faculty. In White Plains, the faculty elects curriculum committees in each building and sends representatives from those committees to sit on a district-wide curriculum council. This mechanism, or variations of it, holds great promise. Problems of the individual building can be identified and a faculty consensus arrived at as to their solution. Innovations and pilot projects which are effective in one building can be quickly adapted for use by other buildings through the district-wide curriculum council. Kindergarten through twelfth-grade syllabus revisions, new techniques in discipline, new methods of pulling more students into the mainstream of school life—all such projects—will greatly benefit from the application of the faculty's collective wisdom and experience. Curriculum supervisors and specialists will benefit, as well, from the resultant understanding, cooperation, and receptivity of the teaching staff.

Nor is there any reason why students cannot meet with, and make a valuable contribution to, faculty committees engaged in the continuous updating and improvement of program. The curriculum committee in each school building and the district-wide curriculum council also open new avenues for constructive citizen involvement. And the informed citizen is the supportive citizen.

Faculty task forces, working this way, can sit down and construct a planned program to accomplish any specific objective. They can assess the human and material resources necessary to accomplish that objective. They can evaluate the program as it progresses and decide, themselves, whether it is working or whether it needs an adjustment of one kind or another. Planned programming, by the teachers who must execute the program, makes sense. I predict that it will be faculty planning and ongoing faculty evaluation of program which will finally accomplish some of the things we have long wanted to do.

For instance, this approach may help us draw more children into the mainstream of school life during the earliest grades. Piecemeal and sporadic attempts have not worked. A systematic effort is obviously required to sustain the eagerness and interest which all children bring to kindergarten. What happens to that joyous anticipation of the kindergarten and first-grade children? We see it diminish year after year. Children who proudly say they want to be teachers when they grow up change their tune by third or fourth grade. And try as we have to encourage students, only a minority of pupils participate fully and enthusiastically in class projects or extracurricular activities by the time the class reaches fifth or sixth grade.

Why should this be? We know that every child can do something; every child has some talent, interest, or aptitude which can be nurtured. Every child needs the satisfaction of purposeful endeavor, individual achievement, and the recognition which comes with success. If a student does not become involved in music, art, dramatics, the school newspaper, sports, or some other activity in the early years, he certainly is not going to volunteer for such activities when he reaches junior high school. His identification with and interest in the school weaken as the years go by. All too often, he is alienated or apathetic by the time he enters senior high school.

What are some other long range measures we need? I would say that high priority should be given to better screening and diagnostic programs at the kindergarten and preschool levels so that we may identify the more subtle obstacles to learning—obstacles, such as dyslexia, that lead to reading problems, short concentration span, and other difficulties later on in school.

Some school systems are taking prekindergarten education more seriously than ever before. There certainly is growing evidence that half or more of human mental development takes place by age five or six.

In Waterloo, Iowa, the school system sponsors a "Home Start" program for two-, three-, and four-year-olds. In an effort to develop the readiness which will assure success in school, carefully trained volunteers visit children in their homes once a week, bringing toys and games for an hour's play. Parents are encouraged to learn how to help their children and to understand how the preschooler's play is directly related to his chances of success in school. While this federally funded program is still in its initial stages of development, the evidence indicates that early intervention is promoting improved learning patterns. School people in Waterloo hope these patterns can be sustained throughout the school years.

Significantly, the four staff members and 35 volunteers involved in Waterloo's "Home Start" program have discovered that there is an urgent need to make existing community services available to parents of preschool children. Many parents do not know about and hence do not avail themselves of medical, nutritional, legal, housing, employment, and adult education services. Similarly, in White Plains, New York, the need to draw the disadvantaged or foreign born parent into the mainstream of community life became apparent at the outset of the year-round prekindergarten program for four-year-olds. The White Plains program is a state-financed experimental program with objectives like those of the Waterloo "Home Start" project.

Many other school systems have year-round extensions of the Head Start concept. Moreover, James Farmer has stressed the U.S. Office of Education's interest in early childhood education. A project at this level should not be a hit or miss venture. If early gains are to be sustained, the entire faculty must be involved in the planning of early education programs. The kindergarten and primary grades program must build upon the preschool experience so as to capitalize upon its gains. There was nothing wrong with the Head Start concept, or with the very real gains in readiness made by many children in Head Start programs. The trouble has been what has happened *after* the Head Start experience to dissipate that hopeful beginning. Again, faculty involvement in planning the program and evaluating longitudinal progress could spell the difference between success and failure.

Volunteer programs are another example of the need for faculty planning. Volunteers can be a tremendous asset to the schools and can go forth to gain an even broader community support for public education. Yet a badly handled, unplanned volunteer program is probably worse than none at all. The volunteers may hinder rather than help, and they are likely to go away frustrated and disappointed. On the other hand, systematic recruiting, training, and assigning of volunteers so that interests and skills are matched to the needs of teachers and students can produce a volunteer program which becomes indispensable. Such a school system as that in Winnetka, Illinois, has an extensive and, from all accounts, highly successful program of this kind. Likewise in the White Plains, New York, system, a similar program has tripled the number of trained volunteers in as many years.

Better diagnostic and screening procedures, a systematic effort to draw more children into the mainstream of school life, the use of volunteers and teacher aides to help teachers individualize instruction—these are means by which we may restore the one-to-one relationship between teacher and student.

To summarize the long range approach, we must involve the entire faculty in the revision and improvement of curriculum—curriculum being defined as all the techniques and materials and approaches we use from preschool through high school. I have suggested that students and adult citizens can be constructively drawn into faculty councils. I have urged carefully structured early childhood education and an all-out effort to draw all children into extracurricular activities from the time they enter school.

Creating a More Effective Climate

What else must we do to create a more effective educational climate?

At both the elementary and secondary school levels, through our faculty councils, I believe we must subject ourselves to the most painfully honest examination. We must ask ourselves these questions:

1. How—in what specific ways—is our total program irrelevant in the face of today's change and ferment? Are we telling it "like it is"? Dare we?

2. To what extent is administration aloof, insensitive, or uncommunicative? Administrators must try to see through the eyes of students and teachers when they ask themselves this question.

3. And teachers must ask: Is my teaching the *best* teaching? If not, what in-service and other courses do I need to make it better? This is a vital question and one which can be asked and will be honestly answered *only* by a faculty which is truly involved in the decision-making process of the school system.

4. From kindergarten through twelfth grade, what are the

obstacles of organization and tradition which exclude subgroups from full participation in the mainstream of school life—in our *own* school system?

5. What about the persistent tendency to stereotype students in the process of placement, guidance, and classroom evaluation? Can we really insist that the self-fulfilling prophecy is *not* operative in our own school system?

6. How about the rules which govern student conduct and school operation? Are they obsolete? Are they enforced in a letter-of-the-law manner? How could they be revised constructively? Do we really take student government seriously? Is it substantive, or is it superficial?

7. Do we assume that restlessness and discontent are confined only to the Negro, the Cuban, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican-American, or the so-called "lower class" white student? Do we assume that student unrest will just disappear if we look the other way long enough?

These are the questions all of us must ask—and answer—if public education is to be lifted above the level of factionalism, superficiality, and pedestrianism; if school is to become a place where students and teachers are eager to go each day; and if the schools are to regain that confidence and prestige once accorded them by the adult community.

We are dealing not only with the erupting frustration of black people no longer willing to tolerate second class status in this society, but also with the troubled conscience of a young and committed America, of youths who are no longer willing to accept platitudes or evasions, or what the sociologist, Dan W. Dodson, has called "the white Anglo-Saxon myths."

We are dealing with young people who see and are made cynical by the discrepancies between what adult America *says* it values and what it *demonstrates* that it values; by the condition of our cities; by the pollution of our waters; and by the war in Vietnam. If we listen, we can hear in their folk songs and popular music what young people are really disturbed about today.

Unable to come to grips with outsize social problems, the adolescent is apt to vent his crusading ire upon smaller targets which symbolize society's larger disorders. And that means bucking the school "establishment." Smoking is bad for one's health, but if teachers can smoke in school, why can't students? Freedom of the press is a democratic fundamental and so is the right peaceably to assemble. Why, then, only *one* school newspaper, and why must the administration censor it? Why can't we demonstrate on the lawn, in the corridor?

And besides, when we gather together peaceably (or not so peaceably) to petition for redress of grievances, we draw strength and hope and reassurance from the "oneness" of the crowd, from our shared youth, our shared aspirations and disappointments. *We have an identity.* We are no longer small cogs in a large educational system dominated by adults—we are powerful, and that identity and that power are beautiful.

That is the group psychology of youth. And the educator confronted by a crowd of protesting students will overlook at his peril the powerful emotional and psychological implications of the group's newfound identity. In such a charged and heady atmosphere, martyrs are easily created, issues quickly transformed into causes-worthy-of-any-sacrifice. To avert or defuse a confrontation situation, it is absolutely necessary that students have access to a quick, effective mechanism through which they may present complaints, get a fair hearing, and obtain redress, reasonable compromise, or a just and fully comprehended refusal.

The faculty and the administration must be willing, moreover, to talk with students—offer them access to redress—*even while a confrontation situation exists.* The traditional response of authority, when challenged, has been: Sit down and be good, and *then* we'll talk to you. That tactic is useless; worse than useless, because in today's climate it can only intensify the confrontation. The response must be prompt and reasonable and it must be based on the merit of the demand, not on the politeness or propriety of the demanding student's behavior of the moment.

What is required is administrative and faculty statesmanship. The posture must be: I do not approve of your behavior, but I will discuss your complaints because if they are valid, something should and will be done about them.

The compensation for such patient forbearance is that an attitude of objectivity and fairness will *prevent* a malcontent or revolutionary hard core from gaining majority support.

A Vital Student Government

Certainly confrontation will be less likely to develop in the first place if a vital student government exists. The system should include some kind of joint student-faculty communications committee which would identify areas of misunderstanding and possible conflict and which would serve as a special council for emergency situations. Above and beyond that, teachers and especially the top administrative officers of the secondary school must be available and willing to meet with any student—not just the so-called student leader or student government officer. The most obnoxious young man in school may have a perfectly valid criticism to make, a perfectly reasonable suggestion to offer. The ideas he advances should be judged as such, not on the basis of his personality. As one educator has often said, "Sometimes we have to save these kids from themselves."

The point is, unless we make democratic process work in the schools, for the students, how can they be expected to have faith in democracy?

We can help students make their student government more representative and more effective. Allan Glatthorn of the Abington, Pennsylvania, schools has suggested electing student government representatives from each social studies classroom, because those classes are homogeneously grouped. Such elections would assure a broad range of socioeconomic status and academic and vocational ability on the student council. Norwalk, Connecticut, elects student government representatives from its ability-grouped English classes.

I would go a step further and suggest that participation in student government should be an accredited activity and that there be a laboratory course in political science and government designed especially for the student government representative.

It is just as important that student government be the avenue for conflict resolution *among students* as that the student organization resolve conflict between students and faculty.

Recently in the White Plains High School, a group of black students—a very determined minority of the Negro students in that school—burst into a student government subcommittee meeting and angrily demanded that the student assembly be reorganized immediately so as to provide 50 percent Negro membership. This—in a school in which 13 percent of the 2,200 students are black and in which there were already two Negro students on the 16-member Assembly.

But the black group's demands were not rejected outright. Instead, the student government officers, guided skillfully by administrators and teachers, formed a special committee of 10—five black and five white students—to draft a compromise proposal. The compromise would have enlarged the Assembly, providing for the immediate election of sufficient additional Negro students to constitute approximately 36 percent of the expanded Assembly. Even this proportion was far in excess of the black-white ratio in the school itself. The compromise was put to the Assembly. The Assembly neither endorsed it nor recommended against it, but voted overwhelmingly to put the question to an all-student referendum.

Needless to say, tension ran high in the initial days of this crisis. As the democratic process took over, however, providing swift and reasonable progress toward a final decision, both black and white students became more and more disposed to let the issue be decided on its merit, by vote of the student body. Objective discussions were conducted in all social studies classes. When the referendum came, a substantial majority rejected the proposal. The outcome apparently has been accepted even by the militant group which initiated the 50 percent demand.

Now, suppose you have such a situation. Student government is working, communication between faculty and students appears to be open, the curriculum is relevant, and students truly have a voice in making decisions about curriculum and program.

Suppose you have accomplished all these things, and *still* find yourself on the brink of confrontation and conflict. What then? In my experience, harsh repressive measures are the worst possible tactic, the sure path to chaos, including, very likely, injury and substantial property damage. On the other hand, vacillation and inconsistency can bring about the same undesirable result.

The effective posture is somewhere in between. There are times when we must swallow our pride and negotiate under duress, negotiate with rude, abrasive, completely out-of-line students; negotiate even when we know or strongly suspect that individuals and groups outside the school are egging on the confrontation.

Need for Clear Understanding

It is necessary to keep talking, keep reasoning with protesting students. It is also necessary to draw the line beyond which you will not go *and make that line clear to the protestors*. It is imperative that you be ready and able to stand on that line.

The object is to separate the true revolutionaries from their liberal followers by pursuing a course of firm, decisive moderation. In such times of crisis, the presence of a uniformed police force on the campus seems only to inflame activist passions and create opportunities for martyrdom—the very thing that the die-hard radicals most want. Yet there can be close coordination with civil authorities. Plainclothes officers can be on hand, discreetly out of sight, as a precaution.

Administrators and teachers should know in advance the exact course which will be pursued. The various faculty members should have crisis stations assigned ahead of time, so that the halls, cafeteria, grounds, and other large spaces will be fully covered. The point is that while we must be willing to talk and to reason with unruly students in hope of avoiding conflict, we must at the same time maintain enough order to be able to make progress. School simply cannot be conducted in the midst of chaos.

The schools need the full support of the law and full recourse to the courts in maintaining that order. Illegal activities are just as illegal on campus as they are off campus. Assault, property damage, use or possession of dangerous weapons—these are matters for the courts. And the court, in such instances, is far better equipped to accord due process and levy appropriate punishment than is the school system.

A nonviolent demonstration is one thing—an infraction, perhaps, of school rules—and can be handled by school administrators, ideally through dialogue and mutual give-and-take. Yet vandalism, physical violence, the brandishing of weapons—these are legal offenses ranging from misdemeanor to criminal activity and they must be handled accordingly by the civil authorities.

I do not advocate indiscriminate or hasty use of police force. On the contrary, I believe that all of our efforts should be directed toward avoiding the need for uniformed police on campus. Time after time, on both high school and college campuses, we have seen a more or less localized protest become a general campus conflagration when uniformed policemen were introduced. Yet the school system must be prepared to call for police assistance if such help becomes absolutely necessary. It should be made clear to all concerned that the school system will, indeed, do just that. I am convinced that we are less likely to reach the conflict stage if everyone knows well in advance that the administration will do what it must.

Need for Full Communication

In any confrontation situation it is advisable, also, to tighten communications among the staff and between the school and the community so that faculty and community will have an accurate picture of what is occurring. Daily memoranda to all faculty members, including those in school buildings other than the trouble spot, go a long way toward dispelling rumor and reassuring staff members. Memoranda to the student body will help to prevent false rumors from gaining credence.

In the spring of 1968 when a student boycott intermittently disrupted the White Plains High School for a period of two weeks, we kept in touch with city officials, including the mayor and the commissioners of safety and recreation, and with members of the Board of Education. Had we not done so, pressure from outside the school system would have diminished our ability to make the decisions which needed to be made. We also held daily meetings of the central office and secondary school administrators to review the events of the day in all of the secondary schools. We thus were able to take some precautionary steps which kept the situation from degenerating further.

Our information office remained in constant contact with the press and other media during the entire period of turbulence. Accurate, up-to-the-minute accounts were provided, and the media consequently did not descend on us with cameras and recording equipment. Failure to communicate with the press and the public in a time of crisis can only result in misunderstanding and well-meant but unhelpful intervention from outside the school system.

Another important aspect of crisis control is the accurate identification of students who damage property, assault other students, or otherwise break the law. Such identification must be positive; it cannot be on hearsay testimony. The student's right to due process must be safeguarded. He should be remanded to the civil authorities. Yet the responsibility of the school does not end there. It is important to contact his parents immediately and to have them come to the school for a conference with administrators and other faculty members who may have been involved in the particular incident. If the student is charged not with breaking the law but with a serious infraction of school rules, he should be included in this hearing with his parents and should have an opportunity to state his own side of the story.

I would also commend the practice of having regular discussion of school issues in the social studies classes, and occasional assemblies which give students an opportunity to ventilate concerns and/or frustrations. Such assemblies can be highly educational as well as being emotional outlets. The principal and key staff members should attend discussion assemblies and answer questions. I think that the superintendent of schools should also be willing to be present and to be questioned from time to time. Student government representatives should also have regular opportunities to meet with the principal and other top administrators.

James Doherty, editor of *School Management,* sees the problem of student unrest as one of governance—governance of the school system. He asserts that most means of coping with student unrest skirt the issue and either offer palliatives, such as suggestion boxes, or focus, piecemeal, on specific antidotes to specific situations and grievances.

When he spoke recently to the New York State Council of School District Administrators, Mr. Doherty [1] challenged us with several provocative ideas. These were:

That students elect student representatives to sit on the school board, that students be assigned to citizen advisory groups, that some method be devised whereby students could evaluate teachers and the total program, and that student unions might ensure long-term student commitment to responsible projects. As he said, many of these measures would be wholly inappropriate for many communities, but all are worth considering and almost all could be adapted in some manner.

In one respect he, and others who are sounding the same note, are right. We cannot think in terms of narrow revision. We must examine every custom and tradition in connection with the operation and curriculum of our schools. We must ask ourselves *why* we are doing what we are doing and the way we are doing it. Unless the answer leaves no room for doubt, we should seek a better way. We do not necessarily have to keep school from eight till three or from nine to three-thirty, or from Monday till Friday. We do not necessarily have to conduct what we call "school" in what we have traditionally viewed as a "school building."

We do not necessarily have to confine education to the classroom or to any school setting. We may find that we can draw the home intimately into the educational process. We may find that we can utilize community resources, including facilities and people, in imaginative and productive ways that have not occurred to us before. We do not have to fear change; we *do* have to fear our own fear of it!

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[1] James Doherty. "Student Involvement." Speech given at the Third Annual Conference of the New York State Council of School Administrators; October 1, 1969.

Taking Advantage of Change

WILLIAM E. HALL

During the 20 years of its existence, the staff of the Nebraska Human Resources Research Foundation has been guided by the principle that the fundamental factor in developing the potential of people is human relationships. At the present time the Foundation sponsors 11 projects in which young people work together, usually on a one-to-one basis, in activities of various kinds that provide an opportunity for developing meaningful relationships between a "counselor" and a "counselee." Both benefit greatly from this continuing experience, provided the counselor himself is a person who has the insight and skill to work positively with his companion in developing the strengths and potentialities of another human being.

In this paper, William E. Hall, who has served as director of the Foundation throughout its existence, summarizes his experiences in these efforts to develop human potential. It is his firm conviction that student activism and unrest are the result of frustrations and negative experiences that thwart self-actualization. If young people have ample opportunities and encouragement to achieve self-fulfillment, their own activism is positive and devoted to the improvement of society, rather than its destruction.—JGS

EINSTEIN is reputed as once having said that the only universal law is that change is inevitable. Now if this be true, and it sounds reasonable, how can one take advantage of the present change symptomized by student unrest?

The opportunity to discuss with the reader this most intriguing problem is a singular challenge. First, because this problem must and will be resolved in some fashion; second, we as educators want to be a significant part of a good solution; and third, we think this

change can be resolved through education, and that its product, the students, can reach a higher level of self-realization. Self-realization is a change predicated on potentiality and reached by taking advantage of environment. The most important part of environment is human relationship, for as Erich Fromm pointed out, "Human relationship is the condition upon which our society depends."

The study of Korean war prisoners and the work of Professors Hebb and Lilley have experimentally demonstrated the importance of relationship in terms of Fromm's statement. How then can potentiality be determined and these relationships developed? The Nebraska Human Resources Research Foundation has dedicated the past 20 years to the study of human potentiality and its development.

Assumptions of the Foundation's Program

Several assumptions, then, must be made and as a Foundation we have not hesitated to make them. First, man can distinguish the desirable from the less desirable, and, second, man has the ingenuity to innovate the conditions that will provide desirable behavior through desirable relationships and produce desirable personality.

Our first objective at Nebraska was to discover human potential. Our definition of potential is any ability that, developed, will maximize the individual's effort to improve his self-concept and contribute to human society. If our assumption is correct that man can determine what is desirable, the mode we used in studying the desirable in people is reasonable.

The application of this principle is to select students who are interested in such a study venture and give them an opportunity to study desirable behavior. They are permitted to select a real life situation laboratory in which to carry on their study. Presently there are 11 of these laboratories at Nebraska. Rather than describing these laboratories, it seems more expedient to describe the activities which are used in all laboratories regardless of the ages or types of recipients (counselees) of the study. The 11 laboratories are manned by some 150 college students (counselors). They use the laboratory as a real life situation in which to study people in general and to study desirable personality, behavior, and relationships in particular, thus carrying into practice the first assumption of the Foundation activity. Many of these college students started in a teen-age laboratory manned by college and high school students.

Each project initiates its activity by studying people's behavior and the relationship that is deemed desirable, which is subsequently tested by close observation and experimentation. As a student enters a real life situation, he accepts the assignment of studying desirable behavior firsthand and, as this study continues, he becomes more discriminating.

Our observation of youth today is that they are dissatisfied with techniques and knowledge that seem to have lost their relevancy. Part of this disillusionment appears to have been created by the lack of opportunities to apply knowledge and skills to people improvement. Coupled with this problem of relevancy is the lack of models who are lending their best efforts to solve the current problems of society, which appear to the youth of today as more insurmountable than they have at any other time in man's history.

Today affluence is so common in our society that less than half of this society has even considered physical survival as an achievement. Today a social and spiritual survival is being sought. In times past the principal achievement of man was survival and it was so difficult that the solution absorbed most of people's time and effort. Those youths in this society who have become sufficiently affluent demand the same affluency for those lagging far behind as much as the disadvantaged demand it for themselves. It is all the more grotesque that some of the leaders of the older generation read this social demand as the handiwork of an "effete corps of impudent snobs." For the first time young people have been far ahead of their elders in realizing that physical survival is not enough and that what one does when he develops himself beyond personal physical survival is all important.

The students experiencing today's unrest can be greatly motivated to reach for the kind of activity that will respond to a realistic altruism that man has never completely buried, no matter how disadvantaged or brutal the society. Thus a simple sincere assignment to study a humane human deeply motivates today's youth, as we have found in the University of Nebraska community.

As the study of desirable behavior progresses, it is suddenly recognized by youth that the most important step in maximizing human potential is to become involved in the development of someone else. The principal means of achieving this involvement is through human relationship. Human relationship is the response an individual makes to the existence of another person. When a person is benefited by this relationship he tends to improve in personal competence, which, in turn, aids someone else in his development and not at the expense of the other person. Thus, both initiator and recipient have been found to benefit by human relationships.

Developing Human Relationships

The first step in developing human relationships is to become aware of and consciously concerned about the existence of other people. The simplest way to achieve this awareness is to speak to people in a friendly fashion. As illustrative, two mathematics classes in a suburban area, one an experimental and the other a control group, were used to test the effect that greeting could have on the conceptualization of people. The experimental group of high school sophomores accepted the challenge of speaking to seniors whether they knew them or not. Both the experimental and control classes rated the seniors on a nine-point friendship scale. There was no significant difference on the first rating. On the second rating, the speaking experimental group rated the seniors significantly higher than the control group rated them.

Another type of beginning awareness has been to build an exploratory relationship to develop enough interaction so that involvement can occur in a community type of experience. One excellent way to spark interest in greeting people and becoming aware of the importance of such greetings has been to assign the following experiment: High school students are instructed to walk down the street and to initiate no overt activity in meeting the first 25 people. With the next 25, an effort is made to catch the eyes of the person, but no verbal response is uttered. In the third group of 25, everyone is greeted. After each group of 25 people is met, a tally is made of the responses. Such an experiment has always produced dramatic results in the response made by people when they were met and directly spoken to (57 percent). When eye contact was initiated by the experimenter, 15 percent of the people responded. When the experimenter made no overt expression or activity, only 1 percent of the people responded. These differences illustrate the necessity of initiating a greeting. The good feeling experienced when response does occur, and the whole significance of beginning a simple relationship, are emphasized; and the experiment often is pursued further.

Another type of experimental relationship is the assignment that each experimenter attempt to make the acquaintance of a stranger for the purpose of finding what the person is interested in doing and what potentialities he thinks he has. Most people, if appropriately approached, are hungry to talk to people.

Also, one good experience in seeking acquaintances may include further exploration into relationships. One such assignment was given to high school students at Christmas time. Each student was asked to go into the heart of town, to get acquainted with one or more persons, and to bring back a report on the people encountered. These students were amazed and excited at the outcome of this experience. They found that strangers are very much like people who are already known well. To develop this assignment adequately, after each effort at building an acquaintanceship, the experimenters should get together as a group to discuss their successes and to note what approaches are most successful. This assignment can be done several times until everyone has had a successful venture. An outgrowth of this experience seems to be to free many students to deal with people firsthand. Students, after this experience, suddenly find they can approach teachers in order to discuss problems that may help to improve academic effort and success. New students or students who are outside of their group can be approached and thus better understood and very often helped. They find out it is really not as hard as they thought to be humane.

A third step in relationship building is the most difficult. It is the kind of relationship that is made to give aid in the becoming of another person. This is a kind of investment relationship that may take a year or years to accomplish. The student may have to select several different prospects before he can achieve sustained progress. He finds that it takes time, effort, and great skill. No student who has achieved real success in the observable development of another person ever considers it a slapdash emotional effort that transforms a person. He finds that patience, a great deal of understanding, and concern in depth are achieved without consideration of personal reward. We have never found that an investment relationship can grow from exploitative or selfish motives. As a matter of fact, one of the most important attributes of this relationship is the dedication toward the becoming of another, the reward for which comes from the degree of success encountered. In one such experiment, potential high school dropouts (about 85 percent) were stimulated to graduate from high school and go to college.

Another significant finding is that individuals differ in the types of people in whom they can make an investment. The counselors in the orthopedic project, in which counselors build relationships with youngsters in an orthopedic hospital, have different personality patterns than counselors in the teen-age project, where relationships are built with college and high school students. The necessity for the expression of empathy is different in the orthopedic laboratory, where the successful counselors are not as able to build relationships with high school students. However, their empathy is so great that they can literally focus on the potentiality of the orthopedic counselee to the exclusion of any physical disability. Strangely enough, these counselors are also apt to have more apparent hostility in other real life situations than successful counselors of teen-agers might have. Our findings over the past 20 years suggest that the ability to build relationships with one type of person does not mean you can build them with all kinds of people. Relationship building is more specific than pervasive.

Another assignment in relationship building is to build relationships in the real life situation where you work and live. Every high school youngster surveys the social situation in which he finds himself. The high school presents a great need for translating relationships into the stream of activity and thus bettering students' perception of other students as well as of one's own self-concept. Many times a superior student in relationship building can apply his own efforts to the point of greatest success when dealing with the need of a rejected high schooler. A student with less ability selects the best situation to deepen and broaden his relationship effect.

Relationship building may take place in a very difficult situation, for many students in their own home. In this situation there is no opportunity for the student to put his best foot forward every time, but maybe when an opportunity is found in the worst situation, in which he has already made a faux pas, he is trying to solve the effect of his error. Most of the time his effort is apt to arouse the raised eyebrows of inquiry if not suspicion as to the purpose of the attempt. Most difficult of all human efforts are the ones where predispositions and outright prejudice kill our best purpose stillborn. Thus, in all efforts, awareness of the purpose of bridging the gaps of credulity, mistrust, and even overt hostility must exist in a clinical frame of reference. We cannot be successful always, but we can always learn if that is our purpose and if the improvement of the human race is our mission. We have found that the discovery of human potentiality makes existence most meaningful and makes us feel and become significant. Lack of human progress is no longer an insurmountable barrier. Success, if sought, will occur, and belief in the human race and in one's self makes one feel significant enough so that the gap of generation hostility and lack of faith can be successfully bridged.

Probably the most amazing phenomenon in this kind of venture is that the pervasive influence of success in an experience spreads to other areas. Very commonly students who become so involved do better academically and are more thoughtful in their conclusions about people and the world in which they have found themselves. They become people oriented, work oriented, and perceptually oriented toward making humanity more humane.

School Crisis and Change

MARK A. CHESLER

In this two-part paper Mark Chesler speaks as one of this country's most-sought educational consultants. His analysis of the reasons for crises in the schools is clear, and his criticism of administrative practices which have been at least partially responsible for many of these crises is sharp.

The fact that resistance to change on the part of educators, both in public schools and at the university level, can be explained and perhaps even understood does not alter the additional fact that, according to the author, change is going to continue to take place in our schools.

His appeal, of course, is that educators will capitalize on the opportunity for change and will take the leadership in helping to shape the new developments into meaningful programs and experiences for the youth in our schools.—RLH

Part I
School Crisis and the Potentiality for Change

I SPEND much of my time now traveling to different school systems, trying to help people respond to the conditions of crisis, disruption, unrest, tension, and conflict that schools and school administrators are experiencing. It seems to me that we all have to begin by seeing this current situation within the context of the larger social order in which we live. The issues we are facing in schools are tied to the ways in which our society is alternately liberating or oppressive for young people who are moving through it. The school is only one of many institutions involved in America's social revolution. Since that is where we work and live, however, it does make sense to limit our discussion to the schools.

The kind of social situation in which we find ourselves, and the resulting reactions by young people, create for school administrators a time and occupational status of great turmoil and strain. It is primarily this strain that precipitates the condition we know as school crisis. For want of any better definition, we may say crisis occurs when the school shuts down and when normal operating procedures no longer work. The administration may decide or feel forced to close down shop because of student riots, fights, boycotts, walkouts, or other demonstrations. School closings represent, for administrators, a clear condition of crisis; at that point in time they are no longer able to go about their daily business. Then many administrators' careers and future roles in the management of educational systems become questionable; and a number of future job opportunities may be substantially threatened.

Long before that point of actual crisis, however, young people, and very often faculty as well, are experiencing great stress, pain, and turmoil in school. For faculty members, constant threat from and failure with students, and continued lack of support from supervisors, may make every day a crisis. For young people, the threat of actual use of disruptive tactics often represents the ultimate opportunity to express their frustrated will in the making of school policy, to express their grievances with the character of school operation, to express their unique personal and collective learning goals. The administrative crisis of shut-down or disorder occurs only after substantial disregard or ineffectual response to these pervasive crises in the lives of other organizational members.

Crisis and Readiness for Change

From my point of view, and from the point of view of administrators committed to school change, the kind of crisis we are facing represents an opportunity to make long overdue changes in the structure and operations of our educational systems. Not only does crisis create an opportunity for change; it creates a demand for immediate action. To deal with current crises in these terms requires understanding and dealing with not just the symptoms of malaise—the unrest or the closure of school—but with the underlying conditions of school life. It means focusing on preconditions for and ways of creating high quality educational systems.

It has been my experience that many important changes in American secondary education are extraordinarily slow in coming about. New ideas may be adopted in one or two demonstration schools, or in pilot programs with heavy funding from a federal agency, but seldom are major revisions that would suggest rapid movement toward higher quality education diffused in any great degree. Although there is some dissemination of ideas, few major innovations in the structure of the learning process are implemented and utilized with any substantial degree of committed concern. Clearly, there are many reasons for this slow pace of change; one can chalk it up to the low availability of funds, a paucity of imagination, risks involved in innovating, political dangers of doing anything different, the feeling that things are going well enough now, and so on.

As I originally consulted with school officials, I found most of my time spent in arguing about the need for some kind of change. Even when I was called in as a consultant to provide some help, I consistently found that no help was really wanted; only conversation and a little show were desired. For instance, teacher-training requests of the following sort were usually made: "Come in and give us a one-hour lecture, and then we'll talk about it after you leave." I would suggest that even if they were to have 12 one-hour lectures, that would not be a very meaningful response to the need for teacher retraining. Sometimes I would ask, "How about shutting a school down for two days? How about taking a week over the summer?" "Well," the answer would be, "we need money for that." I think money is really the issue only when the local political situation is not supportive of change.

In other words, if you can manipulate your school board and community to shut down the school for a day or two, and announce to the community that you have a retraining need, you do it. If not, then you ask for money to buy extra time in order to do the same thing. The request for more money is often—not always—a way out of a politically tight situation, and a desire not to face political confrontations with one's superiors, peers, or the community. Nevertheless, the response often was, "We can't take that amount of time." Usually I would say, "Well, I really don't think one hour is fruitful," and then some bargaining would ensue. Sometimes I would end up doing it on these terms anyway, because as a consultant I enjoyed seeing and being seen around the country, getting to know people, building my skills, sometimes making a little extra money, and feeling useful. But I knew many of the things I was doing were not very useful. Perhaps the greater tragedy is that many educators being serviced in these ways also knew they were not being helped. But the dance went on with new consultants.

The scene is different as I go around now. I find that I have to spend very little time talking about the need for change, or the need to invest in change. The revolution of student dissent and ensuing conflict and crisis in schools has obliterated the reluctance to talk about needing change. It has opened up the possibilities of talking and working directly in change efforts. This is not because the quality of education has changed drastically over the past three years; rather it is because people who are invested with the responsibility for managing or keeping order in our educational systems have discovered that they can no longer do it.

That loss of control is in and of itself a major impetus for ceasing palaver and starting immediately to go to work. Now, time is found, money is discovered, released time is made available, and there is a desire to take greater risks in training events. I cannot guarantee that any of those things is making a difference in the structure of American education, but educators I talk with are much less desirous now of talking about ground rules and much more desirous of implementing school changes.

Consulting in Crisis Situations

The apparent readiness for change presents us with a very important dilemma that we need to help each other think about. As I travel I discover a common pattern of collusion to maintain the status quo established between educational consultants, people like myself, and school administrators. Regardless of the desire to respond to crisis and disruption, there is at the same time a slight desire to invest in seriously remaking the character of the educational system. The primary administrative concern seems to focus on putting down unrest, on restabilizing an unstable school situation, on providing security for vulnerable educators, and on protecting what many school administrators know are inadequate, incompetent, and sometimes brutal faculty members.

Think about yourselves and your colleagues who are facing dissent and crisis in their school with that perspective in mind. Does not their primary desire seem to be to open up their school again quickly, to negotiate rapidly in order not to face the broad issues of black-white antagonism, to promote quickly the incompetent teacher into the curriculum development office so they do not have to face the wholesale review of teacher credentials, to suspend quickly a few agitating students so as not to cope with highly organized masses of youngsters demanding change? And are not many consultants all too willing and able to help administrators take those de-escalating but non-changing actions? The collusive relationship between administrators and consultants is absolutely devastating to the possibility of change, because it means that the resources from which administrators try to get help are locked into keeping them right where they are.

What is likely to happen if we talk about meaningful school change in response to crisis and conflict right now? Is that likely to lead us to undertake meaningful risks in the development of quality education? Or, is that likely to put in our hands more imaginative ways of outflanking, cooling out, or stopping unrest from being an opportunity for change? How do we check this out?

In another area of intellectual discovery, in another political era, this concern for the partisan use of knowledge was called the "Oppenheimer complex." Various physical scientists who developed the "atomic age" wrestled with the problems of making their knowledge available to people whose political values and interests may not have been the same as the scientists who developed the knowledge. Many of them suffered with decades of guilt about what had happened with the knowledge they had put in other people's hands. How are we to handle that issue right now? Are assurances possible? Meaningful? Can I share what I know freely? Should I take care to withhold information until I know you will use it—and if you will use it for positive changes in the quality of education?

and if you will use it for positive changes in the quality of education?

When I speak of collusion to maintain the status quo, I do not mean that the weight of the attempt to resist change of a serious character rests solely on the shoulders of educational administrators. The people I live with, my university colleagues, bear a fully equal share of the responsibility for contributing to this situation; most of the educational consultants I know enter a crisis situation similarly desirous of cooling it out, of not focusing on meaningful change, of staying in the good graces of educational administrators. This posture means that they buy the system as it is, and help it to work better. So long as they satisfy the educators they can keep getting invited back to conference after conference, and consultation request after consultation request, with all the benefits that carries—respect, influence, money, and the sense of importance.

I do not want to mock or devalue those benefits. What does greatly concern me is the service to which those desires are put. Educational consultants too often are willing to play the tune the piper calls, to be responsive to the needs, as stated, of the person who employs them. When my colleagues enter your school system at the bidding of administrator X, there is an automatic feeling of responsibility to serve the needs of administrator X in that school system. The best interests of students in that system may be at variance, at that moment in time, with the interests of the administrator. In order for meaningful change to come about it may cost the administrator his comfort, perhaps his public image, and there are times when it may even threaten his tenure and career.

When meeting student demands and moving toward a higher quality educational system are directly inimical to the administrator's interests, it will be hard for his invited consultant to champion students' interests, however valid. The consultant then would be biting the hand that feeds him; that is more than economic risk, it is a way to lose friends!

Consultants who come from schools of education may have spent their careers in the preservice training of local people who staff and run our schools. Such consultants have invested considerable energy in creating the school systems as they currently are organized. For them to admit to low quality local education and educational leadership means they would have to deny a tradition in which they have partaken, and to criticize their own schools of education—including perhaps their own teaching. Loyalty to the profession may get in the way of a commitment to change for some of these scholars.

So long as both consultant and administrator rely upon an administrative definition of the issues and of the way the issues can reasonably be resolved, then the consultant has little room to employ alternatives that might be useful. I am not saying that the administrator typically is a bad guy. Rather, there are times and places where the administrator defines the situation in his self-interest of maintaining his position in that school system. This clearly is not the same definition he would use were he to desire to lead a crusade, to create change, and to organize forces for higher quality education.

If any lesson is clear, it is that moving toward educational quality is risky. It takes resources we do not have, it takes political victories that we have not won. How many of us are prepared to lay our jobs on the line for the educational goals we have? I suspect that the kinds of abstract goals that we have about education read beautifully, and that we would have minimal cause for serious debate about different ideologies or methodologies. We might seriously disagree, however, about what we are willing to sacrifice to get there. We know we all make a bargain; we know our business is all push-pull, higgle-haggle, wiggle one now to get one later, and compromise here in order to win there. But what may be a minor compromise for your interests as an administrator may be an unbearable sacrifice for someone else's interests as a student or parent in the school.

There are several things I find I have to do when I am called into a school system in the midst of crisis and unrest. Usually the call for help comes over a long-distance telephone; maybe some reader has even made this kind of call. "Doctor, we really need help; our school is coming apart, and it's about to shut down. There are black and white youngsters fighting each other out in the hall. Many of the youngsters are not coming to school, and we need help." I try to ask, "What kind of help do you need, or what is it you want to do?" "Well, we need you," comes the answer. "Like for what? What does that mean? What can I do for you?" "Well, we've heard you're very good at this." "At what?" "At whatever it is you do!" But this dialogue does not help me discover what is going on, what is likely to happen, or what is possible.

I need to know what kind of values, political freedom, and willingness to risk the administrator has. Does he have any choices? What are his options? Can his only option be to get that school operating as quickly as possible? Could he keep that school closed for two or three days and engage in a rapid series of community-school seminars, meetings, sessions that would pull the school board and students and community members into direct dialogue
forces in that school? Did they come uninvited? Were they a first or last resort?

If that administrator has no freedom or running room at all, he cannot be an effective client or partner for school change. If all he can do is restabilize and he still wants consultant help, he has to go to someone who is willing to assist in cooling off disruption per se. I am only prepared to do that when it clearly is tied to more basic reform; otherwise I would prefer not to be involved or helpful. When I suggest this I find that the administrator who asked is almost incredulous that help might not be forthcoming on the terms in which it is asked.

The assumption is made that because I am a member of the "club," an adult, a Ph.D., a scholar, and so far as they know not grotesque or bizarre, I should provide without question the kind of help needed to restore order. I am told that, "Obviously, that is the most important priority, right? As an educator, I have the best interests of the youngsters at heart. And clearly that best interest is served by getting our schools back operating." "Back operating" means, of course, the way they have been operating. That is the key issue I find necessary to raise, and to which I find it very difficult to get clear answers. I do not begrudge unclarity, because I think it is a very difficult question; what I do begrudge is the lack of openness to that issue's being raised. The focus of dealing with student unrest cannot be on how to deal with student unrest, but on how to use this opportunity to make meaningful and fundamental changes in the character of our educational system. Is this disruption an opportunity for doing that, and if so, how do we use it in that way? If this is not an obvious opportunity for creating such change, can we make it into an opportunity?

I know some principals who have been very clear on this, to the point of joining forces with students to encourage opportunities for change. And by the way, the minute a principal gets to that point he can usually stop worrying about violence. One of the reasons we see a lot of violence is because youngsters do not imagine that anything else is going to work anymore, and a close-listening or helpful principal destroys that notion. Another reason for violence is that many youngsters who are angry enough to be violent have no clear notion of what other kinds of political strategies may be useful. When they get help on other potent alternatives they use them.

A quick example can be seen in several schools where youngsters talked about a boycott of classes because of the gross inadequacies of several teachers. They eventually considered the difference between a total school boycott and a selective boycott; each of these presents a very different message to the community observer.

A walkout looks to an adult like a panty raid, like a spontaneous restless expression of youth's adolescent energies and the result of permissive upbringing and idle hands. A selective boycott, on the other hand, provides a clear political message. Whatever else is said, the observer must note, "Look at that, there was discipline. They only picked on a certain number of classrooms. They must have had reasons for their choices." The difference is like reanalyzing the experience of riot-torn cities and trying to discover whether some or all of the stores in riot areas were smashed. Were just the stores of credit exploiters smashed? Or were just the white-owned stores in black areas destroyed? Tough questions, but very important questions, and different answers suggest very important strategic interpretations of disruption.

One principal found that the things youngsters were interested in changing really turned him on; they were quite consistent with his notions of what ought to happen at school. In particular, black youngsters were asking for a black studies program and for the development of an Ashanti club, Mexican-American youngsters were asking for an ethnic club of their own, and many youngsters from different groups were asking that time be given for teacher retraining. Although this principal was really excited about those issues, he had not done anything about them yet. As a result, one day he found several hundred youngsters outside his office presenting their list of demands to him. He said, "Give me a day to try and do something with this."

He took that list to the Board of Education that night and said, "Look what I have here—a list of demands from students. I think we ought to do something about it." And the Board of Education said, "Well, no. We're not about to reward student agitators and you can forget it." The principal then said, "Well, okay, I just want you to know that I had one hundred and fifty youngsters standing outside my office this afternoon as they gave me this. I think they were very reasonable. They asked me to tell you that if I don't come back with anything positive, they'll be here in your offices tomorrow." The Board of Education then reconsidered; "Well, wait a minute. How do you feel about this? What do you think about these demands?" The principal suggested how he would support which demands—a little differently than the students wanted—but basically support. The Board agreed to a number of them right then and there and the principal went back and shared that with the youngsters. Some new things started to happen in that school right away.

We cannot automatically call that "meaningful and fundamental educational change"; many of those issues are only nibbling away at some of the rough edges of our current system. However, I cite the example of this principal because of his desire and ability to undertake considerable risk on his own and his willingness to see the situation as an opportunity for making changes that otherwise could not have been made.

When students provoke a closing of the school, the people responsible for keeping the schools open have to invent new ways to do their job. They may have to do things that in other times and places were simply not possible. In this way, all kinds of resources and possibilities for new role relations and organizational structures may be created. Whether they will be used in the interests of quality education or not is still an unanswered question.

Some Dysfunctional Responses to Crisis

Most administrators do not respond to student disruption in such a creative way, however. Rather, they often seem to do things that escalate, not de-escalate, the conflicts and that resist, not champion, the possibilities of meaningful change. In general, there are three common and unhelpful responses administrators have made in the midst of school crisis and conflict. I mention these errors so we may understand some of the common traps that await us and something of the difficulties in contributing to meaningful change.

One common response has been to attempt, first and foremost, to recontrol students and the situation—in essence the effort is to put the lid back on the pot. This may take the form of suspending agitating students, cutting out the rotten apples, so to speak. Suspension or expulsion assumes that a small group is responsible for disruption, and suggests that by exorcising that group one can maintain the orderly operation of the school.

Another form of the control response is to bring in a variety of civil and police authorities. There may well be times and places where civil authority is necessary; but all too often they enter far too early, and in ways that inflame passions and introduce new issues.

A third form of control is to require students to promise that they will behave well in the future, to require a loyalty oath of sorts. In one Midwestern community, this particular requirement backfired on school authorities. The disruption started as black-white racial hostilities, or so it appeared. As we entered the situation, we discovered that the black students and the lower class white students had the same grievances about the school. When they sat down and talked to one another in their own language, they discovered how they both had been frustrated and turned against one another by school officials. These two groups then organized across racial lines to protest the way in which the school favored the upper-middle class blacks and the white "climbers," the white youngsters who were going to college.

At that point in time, the adult black community was very upset with its own youth group's role as leaders of the protest movement. They were trying to put pressure on the youth group to cease its activities. Then the superintendent suspended many youngsters and, in order to let them back into school, required that they sign an agreement that they would not misbehave throughout the rest of the year. The next day the adult NAACP had the school system in court requesting an injunction to prevent that kind of prior constraint on civil liberties. As the superintendent lost any hope of support from the adult black community, the student and adult black group started to cohere around certain demands for school change.

The second common response on the part of educational leaders has been to ignore or deny the crisis and conflict with which they are faced. One form of denial or ignoring is involved in the focus merely on symptoms, on the problem of unrest, rather than on the basic inequities or failures in school life. Another denial is involved when educators consciously or unconsciously distort student grievances and demands. One example of distortion is the report that disruption is a racial scene when it may just not be. There may be several reasons such distortion occurs; I think it is agreed across the country that managing racial turmoil is beyond the capacity of most Americans. Certainly we should not expect an educator to deal effectively with racial conflict if we assume none of us can, including urban mayors. But running a school is something he should be able to do; and managing good intergenerational relations between young and old is clearly part of that. For an administrator to say, "My students are out of control," is typically a more dangerous admission than, "We have a racial crisis in our school."

Another example of distortion usually is the report, "The students are going to take over the school, they're going to burn it down." There really are very few schools being burned down. I do not suggest that we ignore that possibility, but that is not a likelihood in the overwhelming majority of cases. Nor is it true that large numbers of students are advocating "taking over" the schools. That is the rhetoric in some cases, but it is rhetoric. Like all good rhetoric, however, it plays on the common fears many educators have about student intentions. When an administrator reports this as the students' purpose he can get a great deal of sympathy and support from the community. Parents and teachers who might be interested in negotiating to let students have more say in schools can be polarized and shocked into repressing students at the notion that their young will take over the school.

A third category of denial is the administrator's statement that he is really impotent to make any changes. Some examples include the following administrative responses to student grievances: "I can't do anything." "Don't go to me; go to the school board." "Don't go to the school board, go to the people." "Don't go to the community, go to the governor." "You go, because I can't do anything about it." On some issues, and in some places, these are accurate statements and examples of smart strategic suggestions. But often they represent an evasion of one's own responsibility for educational leadership and an attempt to put the responsibility for bringing about all change on those presenting the case for change.

The third popular response being used in crisis is the attempt to cool off the situation by talking matters to death. In its most obvious form, such delay can involve saying, "Yes, I agree with a lot that's going on, and change is necessary; but let's wait till school's back in shape before we work on that." Or, "Probably in a few months we can begin to work on those things." "Let's talk; let's chat." "Let's listen to one another." There are large numbers of adults who cannot or do not or will not listen to young people. They ought to listen. There also are a large number of adults who listen well enough to know what is going on, and want to keep listening as a way to avoid doing anything about the situation.

I wonder how many of us learn anything new about our systems by listening to students? Sometimes we do. Sometimes we know those things full well—or should know them. Sometimes the attempt to listen and to communicate is done in a very exploitative way. Under the cover of communicating and listening to students tell us what is wrong, we can hear administrators or teachers say, "That's really not true," "You really shouldn't feel that way," or "You really don't mean that—what you mean is thus and so." When educators attempt to explain away grievances, or gather information to outflank or co-opt youngsters, it is politically exploitative communication.

I value listening. My concern is that we can listen and talk forever. Communication is only useful as a prolegomenon to some kind of action-taking; and in the circumstances in which we find ourselves today that action-taking must come pretty quickly after listening. In this context, I often wonder what to make of the definition of the issue in school disruption as a lack of communication.

It seems to me that the issue more often is who can decide what for whom. The focus is change, and the procedural discovery is what kind of power it takes to bring about change. Communication that leads to change is obviously important for that change to occur. But when we say that we need more communication as a goal, it seems to suggest that everything else is going to stay in place —the quality of education, the character of the curriculum, the allocation of power, the maintenance of racism, the percentage of students getting into college, and the percentage getting jobs. If these factors all stay the same and what we do is more talking about them, that is a dead end.

I would like to ask the reader to think about these responses and the possibilities of behaving any differently in crisis situations. Because as I try to figure out how I can be helpful, I must think about what you are going to do with what I say. I ask you to think together with me about what use is going to be made of what we learn about working better in crises. What will be the risk and payoff to ourselves and our systems if we consider this as a problem and opportunity in educational change?

Part II

Responses to Crisis That Facilitate Change

WE HAVE been working in high schools throughout the country in an effort to utilize these crises as opportunities for the improvement of education. We have worked especially hard with educators and students who are prepared to imagine and move in ways that involve risk but also hold promise for school change. The things we have been doing and want to do all come under the heading of "responding creatively to crisis" or "creating the opportunity for change." I have tried to divide the suggestions below into two categories: (a) those things that can be done in the midst of unrest and disruption, and (b) those things that can get under way fairly quickly afterwards. Some of the latter category cannot be done while the school is shut and people are running around all over the place. And moreover, some things in the first category have to be done right then and there to lay the groundwork for the future. Immediate steps taken in the middle of crisis and unrest must be conceived and implemented with an understanding that they will influence what can be and what is done later.

The key notion to keep in mind is the interconnectedness between trust and power as principles of change. When I went to high school, I experienced a lot of boredom and restlessness, but it never occurred to me to do anything about it; I trusted the benevolence of the school leadership to create an educational system that paid off for me. For some people that payoff meant the guarantee of getting into college; for others, marketable skills and a job; for still others, decent and courteous conditions of everyday life within the school. Currently such trust is a very scarce commodity, and many of our schools have lost the ability to pay off for students. Many more high school students now go on to college; the relevance of behaving nicely and getting outstanding grades in high school is no longer very important for getting into college. You can get in without exceptional grades, without conforming to the typical secondary curriculum, without excellent deportment, and sometimes without good recommendations. Moreover, the high school diploma does not guarantee anybody the payoff of a job anymore, and certainly not a job that helps people feel meaningful and dignified. In recent years, the unemployment rate for 16- to 21-year-old high school graduates has been as high as for high school dropouts. Thus, in several ways, the high school is not as focal a site in the American mobility ladder as it once was.

If a person loses the capacity to trust in the people who govern, then he has to start thinking about exercising his own will in the process of governing. Therein lies the interconnectedness between trust and power. We are generally prepared to entrust other people with power over our lives if they can produce things we judge to be good for us. When they no longer have the ability, desire, or intention to pay off on that trust, then we must start to exercise personal power and control over our institutional lives. That connection is part of a constant theme running through the diagnosis and alternatives shared here; it serves as an unseen rationale for students' desire to have power in schools, for faculties' and communities' desire to be involved in decision making, and for principals' desire to be involved in school system policy making and the like.

In the Midst of Crisis

In the immediate crisis situation, then, what kinds of positive responses can be implemented? One of the highest priorities is for the beleaguered and harassed administrator to grab hold of his own feelings and to try to understand what is going on inside him. What kinds of things are creating that extra flutter in the chest, that low grumbling in the stomach, or those sweating palms? There are many grounds for school administrators in the midst of an up-tight confrontation to be angry, fearful, self-righteous, and punitive. But all justification aside, none of these responses can be expected to be productive for working together, or for building a different future. While they are understandable and legitimate reactions, they must be controlled and managed. So one of the first requirements is for educators to understand in what ways they are being threatened or violated by the style and content of youngsters' demands. With that in place, you may be better able to reach out and understand the feelings of others—namely, the students who are making the demands.

It is also important to avoid responding merely to rhetoric or to rhetoric with rhetoric; you must understand the meaning for youngsters and yourselves when you are called "honkey bastards," "fascist administrators," "exploiters," or other epithets. These language forms express people's feelings directly; they are said, consciously or not, to express anger and with a desire to irritate. If you do not understand what such rhetoric does to you, you are likely to be victims of your own irrationality and training in the same way you object to the youngsters' style. As administrators understand students' feelings and grievances, they may be able better to support the demands with which they agree, and even to legitimize those with which they disagree. This means discovering, admitting, and paying attention to the basic issues underlying disruption and unrest, to the core problems youngsters and adults may have with the school.

It also is appropriate to implement quickly some kind of cross-status problem-solving groups or activities. This procedure would require organizing persons from many different groups in collaborative diagnosis and treatment of school problems: it would include young people and old people, professionals and nonprofessionals, people with power and without power, people of black skin and of white, people of high status and low status. It matters less that the people in such groups are elected or appointed than that they have power in the organizations or associations from which they come. In order for people of very different statuses to work together for the resolution of school grievances and problems, it will be necessary to help prepare them for collaboration. You cannot place people who have learned to be distant and maybe hostile to one another in the same room and anticipate that they can work together; there needs to be some training and orientation for that work, or it will end in failure before it starts.

Regardless of the level of preparation, this procedure will not work unless it diffuses throughout the entire school. Several such groups should be established and formal linkage must be provided between the working groups and other students, faculty, or parents throughout the school. The faculty members in the problem-solving groups can report back to the rest of the faculty about what is happening: they then can try to engage the rest of the faculty in supporting their work. Students and community members of such groups can try to do likewise.

Problem-solving groups have to be encouraged and supported to do more than have enlightened dialogue. Dialogue is only a beginning, and working groups have to be invested with the power to advise or implement new policy. Vague promises of change have been made so often and in so many ways by so many people it is understandable if protestors are unwilling to believe that promises will be kept now. Therefore, the immediate establishment of advisory decision-making units, representing different interests in the schools, may be a very appropriate complementary step. It is easy to set up advisory groups for decision making. They do not suggest—as proposed in a longer-range perspective—that one alter the decision-making structure; here the present structure is maintained and we add advisory groups to it. That is not an end to the change process, but in the midst of crisis and confusion it is an appropriate first step.

It also seems desirable to institute a variety of grievance-handling systems that legitimize, screen, and examine underlying problems surfaced during crisis. One semi-judicial innovation is the use of an ombudsman; this could involve a special role to service aggrieved parties wherever they are in the school. It may be an active, inquiring ombudsman who will not wait for a grievance but will move around the school to intervene whenever he sees something inappropriate happening. Another form may be the establishment of extra-administrative judicial and appeal systems.

Most industrial organizations contain provisions for the violation of the chain of command if you have a real gripe. In the Army it is the inspector-general system. This apparatus does not work in the way it is supposed to; but the model theoretically provides a way for someone with a grievance to have it taken care of without having to go in front of his commanding officer and say, "You're stepping on me." In very few of our schools do students have that kind of access to a non-biased administrator. Some administrators may say they have an "open-door policy," "you can come in and complain any time you want to." Of course it is difficult for youngsters to express grievances directly to the person responsible for managing their lives in school; similarly it is difficult for the school administrator to be an unbiased recipient of grievances about the organization he manages.

Some principals have used the counseling system as a grievance mechanism. Counselors are for the most part junior school administrators, however, and they usually perform the controlling and regularizing functions of the school.

Very few counselors I know define their jobs in terms of meeting students' interests; the furthest they may go in this direction is to say, "What I'm supposed to be interested in is students' welfare and I modify their interests and problems so they can accomplish them in the school." Clearly counselors do not at present constitute a mechanism to deal with the issue suggested here. Some administrators can go beyond these new and temporary roles to establish a grievance-handling and judicial appeal board that would immediately respond to basic grievances. Once again, it requires more than just listening to grievances; what is required is the initiation of changes to deal with basic school conditions.

Finally, in the midst of crisis one can begin various forms of negotiations. An informal negotiation procedure can be established which grants petitioners the right to organize and present their demands. This acknowledgment alone recognizes that there may be valid reasons for dialogue which will lead to action, and it admits the vulnerability of people with power to people previously defined as without power. The more formal models of negotiation are very difficult to apply to a school system, partly because of the shifting nature of student alignments and leadership patterns, and partly because of the special legal character of schools. Therefore, I am not suggesting formal collective bargaining, but the representation of various parties' interests to each other and the commitment to the implementation of agreements. Such agreement to action can be a very powerful and useful image in the midst of crisis. It is especially useful when students who are lined up outside a meeting room know that their representatives inside are negotiating and will tell them what happened. Of course, all hell will break loose if agreements made in apparent good faith are not kept.

Longer Range Change Perspectives

In addition to implementing the change possibilities required by the crisis itself, we need to get ready for longer range change of a more basic sort. In dealing with reform around basic problems, we have to be prepared for fairly basic kinds of threats to established interests and accustomed ways of doing things. We all need to be aware of that threat and people's reaction to it; this is necessary protection against being naïve about what we are letting ourselves in for. The mobility of school principals and superintendents currently is so great that greater risk-taking behavior might not seriously reduce anyone's career opportunities. Moreover, such action might make being where one is, even if it is for a short time, a lot more fun and more fruitful.

One of the generic categories of needed change lies in the governance of local schools. For the most part I refer here to the school, not the school system, because most of my concern is with secondary schools as such. But I think the reader can extrapolate to entire school systems. Remaking the governance system of the school is a long-range alternative that might seriously redress basic grievances, particularly those in which many youngsters are saying, "We want to be involved in decision making." Many other grievances, such as "We don't like the curriculum," underneath may mean, "We want a chance to remake that curriculum; we are prepared to put our energy into this."

Increasing the legitimate and formal power of students in local decision making does not mean merely revamping the traditional student government. That must be clear! Student governments in the overwhelming majority of our schools are hoaxes, and cruel hoaxes at that; they are farces of representative political or democratic processes. Similarly, the degree to which educators censor, advise, or supervise student newspapers is a reflection of dangerous control over freedom of expression through public media. Students who learn that self-government is a hoax generalize that attitude beyond school to forms of democratic self-government across our society. This view is reflected now in the attitudes of many young people toward our contemporary political processes; it can be seen in the apathy, distrust, cynicism, and expectation that decisions are made behind closed doors. Some observers argue, in fact, that this is the reality of current American politics, and since it is, the school's training for such a hoax is appropriate and functional.

First, we ought to renounce our student governments for the hoaxes they are. People who want to play that status-seeking game can do so; but we ought not to pass it off as something it is not. In addition, however, we can try to build new kinds of student representation systems that do provide students with the opportunity and necessity to make major decisions affecting the life of the school. We can begin by providing students with the unilateral right to decide the rules of and to administer their own social affairs and extracurricular activities in the school. This would include their operating without faculty advisors or, if they must have advisors, student selection and supervision of faculty advisors. Extending that further, we can develop collaborative decision-making procedures among students, community people, school executives, and faculty. Joint student-educator decision-making groups, not advisory councils, can begin with a focus on such things as teacher hiring, tenure, evaluation, and termination. Obviously, changes in basic conditions will result in basic threats to some traditional patterns; this last suggestion undoubtedly will irritate teacher unions and associations. At the same time, there are several state level teacher representatives who seem very interested in supporting just such an alternative.

These decision-making groups would also be involved in school budgeting and financial decisions and in the creation and selection of new curricula—in other words they would decide all the things we need to decide about our schools. The design of new authority and responsibility systems presumes persons' abilities to make meaningful decisions and to operate in a politically meaningful manner. If we are going to invest in students' making and helping to make major decisions in the school, we must prepare them and train them for that responsibility. That is a curriculum innovation that would bear fruit a hundredfold. However, we must train more than students; such an innovation probably requires that we help prepare everyone for these new roles—faculty and administrators included. One of the common complaints from school principals, for instance, is that they themselves were never trained for the job they have to perform; they constantly feel that their own managerial techniques and political skills are grossly inadequate to the situations in which they find themselves.

It is important as well to think about establishing new organizational forms for governance of the school. It will avail us little merely to replace the principal with six youngsters—even if they are well trained. Such substitution changes the personnel in the office but does not decrease necessarily the distance between the governed and the governors. We need to design new representative structures that increase the reciprocal dialogue and influence necessary for political efficacy or constituent power. If we are to do this seriously, we have to arrange for unit meetings, or homeroom meetings, and some kind of organized constituent body. Several hours a week would have to be set aside so that political representatives could meet with their constituents or peers to understand, research, provide information on, and gain people's views on issues faced by the school. With the provision of time, political represen-

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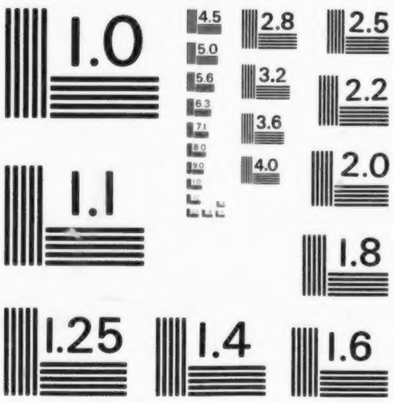
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tatives may be able to represent their constituents upward and downward. Making a political democracy or any effective political system work takes time and energy; we cannot expect to do it in stolen moments after school, on weekends, or during lunch.

Similar models of governance can apply to the organization and representation of the faculty and community, but I have tried to talk about students primarily because it is the most controversial and most necessary item. A basic question in considering new governance systems is whether, in the history of the Western world, power has ever been reallocated or shared gracefully by people who have it to start with. Will you take the lead in sharing power or will it be taken from you?

The evidence is that power is usually wrested forcibly from those who have it into the hands of those who do not have it. Under those conditions, the new power managers will learn to exercise it in the same way as those autocrats who had it before. If we want something different, we must make and take the opportunity to create it for ourselves gracefully now. Educators who are not sharing their power to run the schools are having it wrenched out of their hands by student disruptions and crises. If that is not an image of what is going to happen in the future, I do not know what is.

If educators share power with students, that does not mean they will have less of it. There is no evidence that that has to be the case. There is not necessarily a certain amount of power in a system, divided in several ways, such that if we divide it in more ways each of the original forces has less. It may well be that when more and different people have more power there will be less unilateral control and more broadly based self-directive control within the entire organization. One essential variable may well be whether you can take the lead in sharing power in ways that promote trust or whether it has to be stripped from you in ways that perpetuate defensiveness and mistrust.

The second generic category where innovation and change relevant to the issues in crisis must occur is in the instructional system. Some of the things to be emphasized are new content and forms of the secondary curricula. I do not want to deal with the total range of alternative curricula, but with portions of the secondary curricula related to our prior discussion. New models of governance cannot be divorced from new instructional goals and styles. New curricula relevant for such governance would have to deal with the nature of this society and its political system—or potential political systems—far better than the civics courses and social studies courses we currently teach. There are good data right now which indicate that youngsters who take social studies and civics courses have no more information about the nature of this society than youngsters who do not take those courses. I am not suggesting, therefore, that we throw out all our current instructional objectives, but that we use some of that time in very different ways.

We should also teach a course in the nature of the American school system, so youngsters know what this thing is that we have put together and have invited them to live in. We have often seen a need for this focus. We have all known some articulate and direct young people who know where they are and the kinds of grievances and concerns they have. But they are not particularly articulate or knowledgeable about the nature of the educational apparatus. As such, it is very hard for them to distinguish basic causes from symptomatic phenomena, individual teacher incompetence from systematically trained incapacity, and rigid principals from autocratic role structures. They do not understand the background of teacher education systems that create a relatively large scale incapacity to teach well, or how to support teachers and help administrators discover and use their room for freedom.

Students need to understand what criteria to use in deciding whether they have an administrator whom they can trust, as opposed to one they cannot; what they can do about the one they cannot trust; how they can work for change in a way that prevents a creative administrator from being fired. In addition, information about the financial structure of education, the school board, and relevant local and state legislation all would have to be contained in a course in the nature of the American school.

Lots of youngsters have talked to principals about their grievances and the need for change. Sometimes that has brought about change, most often not. For many youngsters, the alternative to crying to be heard is to react strongly and shut down the school. If we placed some principles of deterrence in the hands of our students we could help them at least to clearly threaten administrators before they blew them out of the school. There are a whole series of lessons in political management and influence that would let students attempt lower level, less escalated, less chaotic efforts at change before things get as hot as they often do. In this context, it is paramount to increase youngsters' repertoire of skills and strategies to choose from when they decide to make coercive or persuasive attempts at change.

Right now youngsters are not operating from a very wide repertoire of ways of influencing the school, and we need to help them broaden their choices. I am sure that kind of course can be taught and must be taught; but I am not sure it can be taught by an employee of the school system. You may have to hire people from outside the system to come in and teach that course, because it will be difficult for any of you to teach people to influence yourselves. We all have our own desires and values, and it would be very difficult for you not to teach a course in how you would like them to influence you, as opposed to a course in what is best for them or what are the alternatives. An outsider does not have to be a revolutionary; but he would have to be willing, able, and supported to lay out alternatives to current influence styles.

In addition to the curriculum itself, there are needed revisions in instructional style and procedures. I suspect that many students spend much of their time in school resisting our efforts to teach them. A lot of energy is spent in, "Go ahead, I dare you to teach me!" If we could get rid of some of the reasons for resistance, for emotional defense against the opportunity to learn, we could greatly increase the amount of learning. Political oppression and impotence are certainly among the reasons why youngsters find themselves unengaged, disengaged, or alienated from the kinds of goals we have for their learning in school. To the extent that we alter these perspectives and feelings, I suspect we will liberate great reservoirs of energy for intellectual growth.

Unless we are really prepared to do more than *talk about* political and instructional change, there is little point in entering into cross-racial or cross-generational dialogue. Responses to school crisis must seek long-range change in these basic school structures. If we are prepared to make such changes, we have to demonstrate very quickly that we are.

Educators who recognize the current state of our schools must invest rapidly and totally in meaningful change; of necessity, leadership for such change involves risks and threats to one's own career, cherished traditions, friendships, and relations with colleagues. Disruption has been a key force in helping us all think differently about our schools and our roles in school. Inasmuch as the change process will not be quick and even, we would do well to be prepared for continuing and increasing confrontation and disruption. As I have suggested consistently, however, there is every possibility that this future can be stimulating and liberating for the opportunities of more efficient and humane schools.

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